

UNDERSTANDING THE INTERSECTION OF CULTURE, RELIGION AND GENDER ON DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF NIGERIAN HOTELS

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Abstract

Recent attention has been drawn to human resource management within the Nigerian context, with increased interest in the improvement of organisational management practices to enable Nigeria to compete in an increasingly globalised economy (Fajana et al., 2011). Despite this, however, there is a distinct paucity of academic literature addressing the effects of culture and religion on gender equality in management within Nigerian organisations (Tiemo and Arubayi, 2012).

Nigeria does not have an indigenous tradition of human resource management, and as a consequence, many of its management practices are imported alongside foreign investment and amalgamated with local practices (Fajana et al., 2011). Nigeria's patriarchal culture and demographic context have significant implications on diversity management, and this reflects on the composition of the workforce (Tiemo and Arubayi, 2012). Qualitative data collected in Northern, Southern and Eastern regions of Nigeria through in-depth interviews were coded and analysed. The study found that hotels in Nigeria are still grappling with the problem of gender inequality with females' career development suffering greatly under the burden of a patriarchal culture. Females are also made to take job responsibilities that reflect their positions in the society and households. Secondly, the intersecting factors of gender, religion and culture put severe pressures on women, which tend to have a negative impact on work-life balance. Thirdly, family responsibility and expectations deter females from seeking promotion to the higher level of hotel administration. Many females who attempt to 'rebel' against the standing cultural order find

themselves in marriage crises. Finally, gender diversity management is not promoted in Nigerian hotels.

The study makes contributions to theory and practice. It finds common ground for the application of hegemonic masculinity framework and intersectionality perspective in gender and management inquiries. The study recommends radical holistic change is required regarding policy, cultural, programmatic, attitudinal and social actions.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Dimensions of gender inequalities, socio-political and economic dynamics across the world have led to the introduction of various gender mainstreaming strategies in the world of work, such as targets, quota system, proportional representation. These developments also inspired increasing amounts of investigations into opportunities, challenges, progress and outcomes of women in management (Whelan and Wood, 2012; World Economic Forum, 2014; ILO, 2015). Countries like France, Finland, Norway and Spain have introduced quota systems to address gender inequality in boards of directors, which inspired studies to understand successes and challenges (see Machold et al. 2013; Wieland and Flavel, 2015; Sojo et al. 2016; Klettner, Clarke and Boersma, 2016). Yet in Nigeria, policy makers, traditional and religious leaders rejected a Gender and Equal Opportunity (GEO) Bill for the country (BBC, 2016; Umoru and Erunke, 2016; Makinde, 2017). The reason for the rejection was because the Senate believed that the “Bill was not in line with the religious and cultural beliefs of most of the Nigerian population and thus, unworthy to be enacted as a Nigerian law” (Makinde, 2017, p.1). This decision and its concomitant debates have increased scholarly interest in gender situation in Nigeria, (see British Council, 2012; Makinde, 2017) and this thesis seeks to further contribute to the developing knowledge base.

Besides a focus on gender alone, scholars have also examined the interactional of class, race and gender and how these interactions play critical roles in determining differing opportunities and outcomes for females and males in the world of work (Wooten and James, 2004; Crompton, Brockmann and Lyonette, 2005; Scott, 2005;

Beck, Fuller, and Unwin, 2006; Acker, 2006; Perrons, 2007; Hucles and Davis, 2010; Kara, Uysal and Magnini, 2012; Kabeer, 2012; World Bank, 2013; Collins and Barnes, 2014; Ashe and Nazroo, 2015; Unterhalter et al, 2017). For example, the study by Unterhalter et al. (2017) in five Nigerian states highlights how multiple interruptions affect the smooth flow of ideas and practice about inclusion and gender equality from the increasing Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), related gender equality mobilization to actual field practices in the society. Even people who are informed about gender equality struggle with existing values they learnt all their lives in their communities and tend to find it difficult to change. Such socio-cultural barriers highlight the weakness of focusing on gender alone in the study, and promotion of gender diversity in male-dominated societies like Nigeria.

Gender issues in the hotel industry workforce have also been studied globally (Brownell and Walsh, 2008; Alonso-Almeida, 2013; Samkange and Dingani, 2013; Marinakou, 2014; Smain, 2015). Some of these studies give particular attention to challenges around female participation in management in the hotel industry (McCuddy et al. 2009; Blayney and Blotnicky, 2010; Doyle, Findlay and Young, 2012; Marco, 2012; Masadeh, 2013; Gröschl and Arcot, 2014). What is under-researched, however, is how the interactions of culture and gender contribute to influence females' work-life balance and career progression in the industry, especially in the developing societies. Specifically, from the review of literature it emerged that little is known about different culturally idealized gender expectations, their influence on the relationship between work and personal life, work experiences and job progression in hotels, especially in developing countries such as Nigeria.

Further, whilst there is much knowledge about work-life balance, there is relative scarcity of literature on work-life balance in the hotel industry, and even less knowledge in developing countries (see Frone 2003; Maertz, Pearson and Keough, 2003; Lingard and Francis, 2004; Lowe, 2007; Valcour, 2007; Baral and Bhargava, 2010; Mordi, Mmieh and Ojo, 2012; Xiao and Cooke, 2012). A study on gender diversity in the hotel industry is germane at this time. The Nigerian government began to show interest in the hotel and tourism sector development citing how it contributed 1.7% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2014 in order to ensure that gender diversity and gender inclusion were well entrenched in both hotel management and other aspects of Nigeria's sociocultural and economic practices in Nigeria (Ezeamalu, 2015; National Institute for Cultural Orientation, 2017). Also, studies around work-life balance in Nigeria have been conducted in relation to education, power generation, telecommunication, insurance and banking sectors and highlighted pressures women face in the sectors and how such pressures impact on their performances and career development (e.g. Adekola, 2010; Mordi, C. and Ojo, 2014; Mordi, Mmieh and Ojo, 2014; Ojo, Salau, O. and Falola, 2014; Amazue and Onyishi, 2015; Akinyele, Peters and Akinyele, 2016; Oludayo et al, 2015; Hassan, 2016; Ugwu, Amazue, and Onyedire, 2017). Those studies that examined work-life balance in the hotel industry in Nigeria have limitations in relation to their methods, gender and cultural dimensions (e.g. Karatepe and Aleshinloye, 2009; Karatepe, 2011; Akanji, 2013; Ihejeme et al., 2016; Lagasi and Buba, 2016). For example, Akanji (2013) examined work-life balance in the hotel industry alongside banks, call centers and insurance firms, but did not specifically focus on possible roles of intersectional factors such as gender, religion and culture on women's career development. Karatepe and Aleshinloye (2009) and Karatepe (2011) respectively

investigated work-life balance in relation to job satisfaction and emotional concerns but did not, in principle, consider gender-based sociocultural factors that underpin people's experiences at the workplace. Other studies (e.g. Lagasi and Buba, 2016; Ihejeme et al., 2016) used a quantitative research design to understand factors affecting women's representation in managerial positions, and identified individual level factors, organization culture and family factors as determinants of career development. However, small sample sizes and limited geographic coverage affect generalisability of previous studies on gender diversity, and the quantitative approach does not enable a more nuanced assessment of the lived experience of women from different backgrounds. None of the prior studies examined the combined influences of culture and gender issues on hotel employees' work-life balance. Given the findings from research on intersectionality, it is therefore important to consider how culture and gender interact in the context of a highly gendered industry, the hotel sector.

It may be difficult for a single study to examine all the multiple factors contributing to low women's representation in management. This study focuses on the intersectionality of culture (together with religions that largely contribute to influence it in Nigeria) and gender to examine women's work-life balance and progression in management of hotel industry. Culture and gender are considered very important because available evidence indicates that they underpin patriarchal structures, values and exacerbate gender inequality (Dunne *et al.* 2013) Also, alongside religion, culture was cited as a major reason for the failure of National Assembly to pass the country's Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill (Makinde, 2017). Gender and culture also play important roles in how women in formal employment are

perceived, received and valued. Only a limited number of studies have actually examined how, and the extent to which, these influence women and how various factors work in different developing countries' cultural contexts (Yusuf, 2013).

This study is broadly located within intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity frameworks (definitions and detailed discussions on each of these frameworks, and definitions of other key concepts, are contained in the following literature review chapter). While intersectionality is employed to examine the interplay between gender and culture (and religion) within the society and organisations, hegemonic masculinity is employed to interrogate embedded patriarchal values, beliefs and practices within the cultures. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) recommended interrogation of the prevailing gender power relations that is underpinned by religious and culturally idealized masculine character, which they explain as a feature of hegemonic masculinity. They also recommend that such interrogation should be undertaken in historical and culture specific context for meaningful understanding of how such idealized attributes impact on women's opportunities, freedom and overall life experiences. A deeper comparative examination of gender issues around work-life balance and women's opportunities in different levels of hotel management and employment in three different Nigerian cultural contexts will be focused on: Hausa in the north, Igbo in the southeast and Yoruba in the southwest with the view to developing contextualized theoretical insights.

1.2 Global Gender Diversity Landscape

Statistics on women in management remain worrying despite decades of efforts to improve women's participation in businesses. Generally, between 1995 and 2015, women's participation in the labour force decreased from 52.4% to 49.6% globally (Catalyst, 2017). According to the International Labour Organisations (ILO, 2016), notwithstanding gains in some continents, millions of women are losing the struggle for equality in the labour field, especially with regard to decent jobs. The gender gap in employment has only closed by 0.6% since 1995. Females constitute more than half of the employees at the lowest levels of organizations, but their proportion continuously shrinks towards the top of the organizational pyramid. At the top, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) level, females constitute only 3% to 4% globally. Medland (2016), in Forbes Leadership, explains that women held 24% of senior business roles globally. She also notes that nearly four out of ten businesses in the G7 nations do not have any women in senior management positions. The European Union (2013, p.3) noted that women represented 16.6% of large public company board members in the 27 EU Member States as at April 2013, which is seen to be an encouraging progress in relation to past records.

Women are still underrepresented in top leadership positions in the hotel industry (Munar et al., 2015). In Africa, an ILO (2015b) study suggests that the ratio of women in senior management positions remains very low. Increase in female's participation in management jobs in Africa in the past decade was observed in six countries (Botswana, Guinea, Madagascar, Mauritius, Namibia and South Africa) while some decline was observed in countries like Ethiopia and Uganda. The ILO (2015c) notes a critical scarcity and limitation of women CEOs in the available

statistics on most countries in Africa. From among those that are available, Moodley et al (2016) report that only 5% of African private sector CEOs are women, which is slightly above the global rate, which stood at 4%. According to the report, Africa's private sector "has more women in executive committee, CEO, and board roles in companies than the average worldwide. Numbers vary by industry and region"; however, the report also notes "women are still under-represented at every level of the corporate ladder – non-management and middle and senior management – and fall in number the higher they climb. Only 5 percent of women make it to the very top" (Moodley et al, 2016, p.3). In 2012, the percentage of female CEOs in South Africa was 3.6%. In Cameroon, available information indicates that out of 93,969 enterprises, women constituted 27% of their employees with only 10% holding manager position and finding a female CEO was rare in large companies. In Nigeria, women held 15% of board positions in commercial banks. In Lagos state, which is Nigeria's largest commercial hub, women constituted 8.1% of private sector directors in 2012 (ILO, 2015b).

Unlike Nigeria, where gender equality legislation suffered monumental setbacks, European countries have seen reasonable improvement in gender diversity on boards employing diverse gender mainstreaming strategies. A European Union (2013) report highlights some of the measures taken by European States, including: the establishment of enabling environments for diversity management and women career advancement such as some amendment to national Companies Acts (in Denmark), advancement of gender responsive corporate governance code (in the UK) that require companies to annually present reports on their diversity policy and targets, promulgation of 40% quota mandate (in Norway) and, issuance of executive

ordinances on gender diversity (in Poland). As in many other sectors, the impact of the absence of gender equality legislation in Nigeria typically is reflected in unequal gender distribution in Nigeria's hotel industry (see Baum, 2013; NBS, 2015). Available information in the literature on gender diversity in Nigerian hotels suggests that gender imbalance exists but data are not uniform on the nature of the imbalance (Mejabi and Abutu, 2010; Baum, 2013; Tadjudeen and Fajeyi, 2013; Adebayo, 2015). Baum (2013, p.51) notes that the percentage of Nigerian females employed in hotels and restaurants in 2007 stood at 75.4%. Similar observation was made in a study by Tadjudeen and Fajeyi (2013). Their study was based on the government data in 2008 on the number of workers in different industry, which shows that there were 163,561 females and 53,557 males in the hotel restaurant business. Data from the National Bureau of Statistics (2015) on the accommodation and food services sector indicates that males dominated the sector between 2010 and 2012, constituting 64% of the employees in the industry. The National Bureau of Statistics data tends to contradict Baum data; whether the gap was closed within a space of three years looks doubtful. Their sources of data and inclusion criteria are not available for better comparison. A report of the regional seminar on responsible tourism that focused on opportunities for women and youth pointed out that very few women exists in leadership positions in Nigeria (World Tourism Organisation, 2012, p.2) but provides limited disaggregated statistical information on the workforce strengths across levels. Lack of uniformity in the evidence suggests that available evidence needs to be treated with caution. Besides, Verick (2014) explains that although participation of women in the labour force contributes to improve the economic situations, the relationship may not be consistent and straightforward in many countries. Although the literature needs to be treated with caution, what could

be drawn from it is that the majority workforce in the Nigerian hotel sector is female and, within this workforce, very few women occupy top management positions, reflecting a classic example of gendered horizontal and vertical labour market imbalance.

The above gap emphasizes the importance of generating local and locality-specific evidence for analyzing and improving policy and practices. Thus, studies on female participation in the hotel labour market and in hotel management need to examine factors around locality-specific situations and its variations in relation to other locations and countries as well as how they impact on females' opportunities. Also, the failure of passing the GEO bill that sought to end all forms of gender discrimination in employment, eliminate some negative cultural practices that hinder development of women and enhance their socioeconomic opportunities (Nigerian Feminist Forum, 2016; Premium Times, 2016), further stresses the need for a study like this. The following sub-section provides further information on the rationales for the study.

1.3 Rationale for the Study and the Contribution to Knowledge

Observers and gender theorists have highlighted the need to examine gender issues in the workplace in local, cultural and industry contexts for effective understanding of what works in each particular context to maintain widely observed gender diversity and factors that specifically contribute to resist change in each context (Cope, 1998; Bauder, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Neuman, 2014). Evidence also shows that generalised efforts have produced limited and slow practical changes in the past decade (see World Economic Forum, 2014; ILO, 2015). The ILO (2015) notes that the slow changes have been largely influenced by deeply ingrained

sociocultural and religious norms that remain unchanged despite the changes in the world of work, and have contributed in rendering decision-making and business management to look as if they are domains of men. Considering that social variations account for gender variations and inequality level across countries and require bespoke response in each locality (Neuman, 2014), this study examines three Nigerian culture (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) on gender practices in relation to work-life balance and women's advancement managerial positions in hotels.

Also, the study presents an opportunity for unraveling qualitative stories behind the range of statistics on gender inequality. Diversity in business management has been extensively explored globally from quantitative angles but information on qualitative experiences across different cultures is limited (see Brammer, et al. 2007; Pande and Ford, 2011; Suisse, 2012; Bhat, Nitin and Fukey 2014; World Economic Forum, 2014; Mc Hunt, Layton, and Prince, 2015; Özkan, Esitti and Köleoğlu, 2015; ILO, 2015; Walker, et al. 2015). Quantitative evidence on gender imbalance in management is very useful for understanding both the degree and prevalence of gender inequality in the labour market, including the hotel industry. However, large and quantitative studies often tend to ignore issues within context, leading to failures in capturing subjective experiences and interactions that occur within a specific arena, including personal perspectives and interpretations of the participants involved (Gorman and Clayton, 2005). They also often fail to identify specific qualitative cultural issues from the lived experiences such as those of the women at different levels of the organizational hierarchy (Malina, Nørreklit, and Selto, 2011). Similar observations are also made about quantitative evidence on gender and management in the Nigerian hotel industry (see NBS, 2012, 2015; Ihemeje and

Zuraina, 2016). This study provides the qualitative dimension across particular Nigerian cultural settings.

Significantly, Nigeria presents a peculiar setting that requires bespoke studies to understand how localized and contextualized culturally inspired gender practices impact on female's employment and career progression in different sectors across different Nigerian cultural zones. According to the British Council (2012), annually, about six million young Nigerians enter the labour market but only about 10% secure jobs in the formal sector of which only a third of them are women. 54 million out of the country's 80.2 million women work in rural areas, constituting about 79% of rural labour force. The majority of the remaining 21% that are in non-agricultural paid labour force are concentrated in low-skilled, informal, low paid and casual employment sectors. In 2012, only 15% of women were recorded to have bank accounts (British Council, 2012). Women's experiences in the labour markets also vary across different locations, religions and cultures. For example, women in the southern part of the country tend to have better opportunities and working conditions than those in the north. Within each region, variations have also been noted (National Population Commission and RTI, 2011; British Council, 2012; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA, 2013; NBS, 2014). In this context, investigation of intersectional issues that underpin women's low participation in the labour market need to include multiple factors such as religious, traditional and geographically specific cultural practices.

The study particularly attempts to present different cultural and contextual narratives of idealized masculine characters and how some men inhabit power and wealth

positions, and “legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance” (Carrigan, Connell and Lee 1993, p.92). By framing the study within a hegemonic masculinity perspective to examine lived experiences of women in highly religion-infused patriarchal culture, the study also contributes to examining structural and functional dimensions of hegemonic masculinity, as a social condition that operates in such a way as to sustain the control of women (Donaldson, 1993) and affects their freedom to decide what work to do and balance such work with their private and family lives. This kind of understanding is necessary for effective gender interventions in Nigerian labour market: it enhances human right and equity; provides enabling environment for growth and human development and; improves business effectiveness and outcomes (ILO, 2015; Datta and Koticula, 2017).

Another important contribution of this study is related to an observed need to pinpoint factors that contribute to exacerbate gender inequality in the labour market. The report of a World Bank supported study in many parts of Africa claims that “there seems to be little evidence to support the idea that labor market discrimination is a key explanation for gender gaps in underdeveloped economies” (Arbache, Kolev and Filipiak, 2010, p.15). This claim suggests the need to look beyond labour market itself in the search for meaningful understanding of factors that create and sustain gender inequality in the labour market. By extending possible discriminatory models of masculinity that operate at the realm of common sense to construct people’s behaviors (Hanke, 1990) and opportunities in the labour market, the study provides alternative explanations to the underlying reasons for the pervasive gender inequality in Nigeria’s labour market.

Considering that gender practices and experiences in the workplace often mirror the predominant policy and practices in the wider society (Unterhalter et al 2017), this study pays attention to uncovering pressures and coping strategies of women in their effort to rise in their career within a male dominated culture. Data from the national Bureau of Statistics (NBS) shows that at least 46% of Nigerian women believe that their husbands have a right to beat them for at least one reason, 26% feel their husbands are justified to beat them if they go out without informing their husbands, which includes going to work outside their homes. 29% feel their husbands are justified to beat them for neglecting their children (NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA, 2013). The ILO (2015, p.12) observes, "One of the reasons why it can be more difficult for women to be selected for top management jobs is that their management experience is not sufficiently diverse". If women are not free to leave their houses without their husbands' permission, how would they gain such experiences? It also becomes necessary to examine how those that are able to work in such an environment cope with the 'family rules' and work demands. Also, understanding of experiences and coping strategies of working women in such environment provides some explanation on work-life balance in freedom-constraining environment.

Besides contributions of the study to the body of evidence and understanding of theories in developing countries' contexts, the study contributes to interrogation of the status quo in Nigeria. Bergsto (2013, p.22) notes that "traditional patterns die hard" and sometimes demands both legal and radical actions to produce results. In Nigeria, legislative approaches are failing, and existing gender related policies do not adequately address local realities (Ezegwu, 2015). Political will is lacking for promotion of gender equality as exemplified by the failure of the GEO bill. In this

milieu, different kinds of actions are required to roll back male dominance. In a different context, Machold et al. (2013) identified four dimensions that contribute to promoting increased gender equality in the upper echelons of organisations, which include research and information, education, networking and role models. This study is intended to produce research and information for evidence based gender equality advocacy. As a young educated Nigerian myself, I intend to serve as a role model for other women at a time when the National Assembly does not see any need to establish a legal framework for promoting gender equality in the country. While the study directly contributes at the research and information level, the researcher's engagement with gender equality issues across cultures contributes to challenge the status quo. As a female, it is daring to ask questions in areas where non-membership of particular religious and cultural groups makes such endeavor a dangerous one, especially in localities where it is almost a taboo for a female to openly discuss gender equality. The following subsection summaries the study's objective and research questions.

1.4 Research Objective and Research Questions

The broad objective of this study is to provide qualitative evidence, based on lived experiences and personal perspectives of both female and male participants, on work-life balance and gender inequality in the hotel sector, and to identify how culturally idealized feminine and masculine characteristics accord privileges to males over females in the hotel sector. Specific objectives include:

- a. To understand how cultural norms affect work-life balance of woman in Nigerian hotels;
- b. To understand how different Nigerian cultural norms are reflected in gender roles and female opportunities in Nigerian hotels;

- c. To research how gender diversity is promoted in the Nigerian hotel industry.

The study explores the following research questions:

- 1 .How do cultural norms affect work-life balance of female employees in Nigerian hotels?
2. How do differences in Nigerian cultural norms influence gender role and participation at management levels in Nigerian hotel industry?
3. How is gender diversity promoted in Nigerian hotels?

Chapter 1: Introduction: The introductory chapter summarises the rationale of the research along with the study's contribution to knowledge, the research objectives and research questions and, structure of the research report.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: This chapter provides definitions of key concepts and extensively reviews the literature on themes such as gender diversity, theories of diversity and variety in the world of work. Also contending theoretical perspectives used in the analysis of gender diversity are also discussed in the chapter. At the end of the chapter a summary of the findings, gaps in existing literature and areas requiring further research are presented.

Chapter 3: The sociocultural context of the research: Nigeria is a very diverse country with multiple culture-inspired gender practices that contribute to influence institutional practices. These diversities are discussed in this chapter with a significant attention given to the cultural locations of the study and the socioeconomic background of the regions of Nigeria where the research was conducted.

Chapter 4: Methodology: The fourth chapter discusses the research methodology, including data collection methods and data analysis processes. It explains the research philosophy and theoretical approach to the study.

Chapter 5: Results and discussion: This chapter presents and discusses the research findings in relation to evidence from the literature and how the findings extend existing conceptualisations of intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity. The implications of the findings for gender and workplace policies are also highlighted.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: The final chapter presents major conclusions of the study and recommendations. Limitations of the study and emerging areas for further research are also summarized in this chapter. The chapter is followed by a comprehensive list of resources used in the research process and other relevant appendices.

1.6 Conclusion

There are gaps in qualitative evidence around an intersection of factors that impact on gender diversity in hotel management, females' work-life balance and career progression in the Nigerian hotel industry. This study contributes to closing these gaps by extending intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity approaches by interrogating local cultures (together with religion) and gender practices that underpin gender imbalances in three cultural settings in Nigeria. The outline of the study's rationale, key research objectives and questions that guided such contribution have been summarised in this chapter. The following chapter reviews literature pertinent to gender issues, summaries key definitions and theoretical developments in this field.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, literature on gender diversity issues, theories and practices in the hotel industry is reviewed. One of the major reasons why it has become important to give attention to the literature is that researchers do not often have a deep-seated understanding of the important background of both the research environment and the subject of investigations and literature helps to close these gaps. Furthermore, the literature review helps in shaping the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the research, as well as locating this study within a wider body of work.

The first part of this chapter will focus on academic views of diversity, providing the social and historical context for the development of conceptions of diversity. It will then analyse different approaches to diversity across juxtaposing objective and subjective dimensions, first dealing with the two different conceptual approaches that have governed our understanding of diversity: the moral-ethical approach versus the economic-organisational approach. It will proceed to examine broad and narrow definitions of diversity, stable and dynamic conceptions of identity, and the importance of power within organisational structures and inter-personal relations. It will also address core theoretical frameworks used within diversity analysis, offering a hybrid approach that may be used to frame future studies in diversity. Section two will focus on gender diversity; barriers to gender diversity management, such as work-life balance, social structures; gender roles in management; theoretical and practical perspectives and critical debate within the literature of intersectionality. Finally, Section three will summarise the issues raised by the literature review and identify key gaps in the field and areas for further research.

It is important to note that diversity management is a complex issue, largely as a result of the variety of perspectives within the literature, compounded by the fact that many studies draw upon contested notions of identity, difference and equality (Grossberg, 1996; Litvin, 1997; Hove, 2016; Guilherme, 2017; Pulido-Fuentes et al 2017; Mikander, Zilliacus & Holm, 2018). Furthermore, broader sociological and psychological theories have been incorporated into discourses surrounding diversity, placing this topic at the intersection of several disciplines (Turner, 1987; Pulido-Fuentes et al 2017; Mikander, Zilliacus & Holm, 2018). As a result, this review devotes considerable attention to the conceptual basis for diversity management, in addition to the multiple ways diversity has been conceptualised and defined. It is hoped that the outcomes will provide the necessary foundation and academic context in which this study is situated.

2.2 Diversity and inequality concepts and theory

As cultural and economic boundaries between nations have broken down, the labour force in many industries has become increasingly diverse, bringing with it attendant challenges and benefits for managers. Academic literature produced over recent decades has therefore sought to enable a greater awareness of this profound change and provide managers and researchers with the necessary understanding to address issues caused by diversity within the workforce (Saini, 2014). The concept of diversity is the subject of contentious debate among academic researchers, giving rise to a variety of perspectives on how the concept itself may be defined (Harrison and Klein, 2007; Saini, 2014). This marked lack of consensus regarding the nature of diversity itself has further muddied the waters in what is considered to be a highly disputed field of research, with a great many conflicting studies and empirical reports.

The subject of diversity within the workplace has attracted a plethora of studies over the course of the past four decades. Researchers have sought to understand the impact of group heterogeneity upon group dynamics and developed theoretical frameworks to understand the social interactions that occur in a workplace setting (Saini, 2014). Others have sought to establish the impact of a diverse workforce on organisational outcomes through empirical research, emphasizing the potential benefits that may be accrued from having a plurality of perspectives within a workforce setting (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011). In this regard, however, there is a high level of disagreement, with many studies exposing the disadvantages of a diverse workforce, identifying increased levels of conflict, breakdowns in communication, stereotyping and a high degree of staff turnover (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). This lack of consensus within the literature may be explained by differing methodologies employed to conduct studies in diversity and management, or by how diversity is conceptualised (Harrison and Klein, 2007). However, equally, if not more importantly, is the fact that it is impossible to generalise about the positive and negative impact of diversity in a workplace setting.

Managing an increasingly globalised and diverse workforce has become an operational imperative for almost all businesses, and in countries such as the U.S. and many others, brings with it a legal imperative to ensure that the promotion of equal opportunities has become entrenched within an organisational culture (Greene and Kirton, 2010). Many organisations, both large and small, have struggled to adopt a diversity strategy efficiently and, as such, fail to capitalise on the opportunities that a diverse workforce may bring (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). There is an increasing demand for research that is concerned with providing strategies for organisations to improve management of a diverse workforce and avoid drawbacks such as high staff

turnover.

The concept of 'diversity' may literally be understood as difference (Milliken and Martins, 1996; Guilherme, 2015; Skilling, 2015). It implies an approach to management that places a value on a variety of perspectives and differences within a group, embracing diverse individual interactions as a key source of creativity (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). Rather than simply tolerating difference within a group, diversity aims to foster a culture of respect that guards against discrimination and prejudice (DBIS, 2013). However, one of the core challenges facing managers striving to cope with an increasingly diverse workforce is derived from the variety of definitions and theoretical paradigms drawn upon within the articulation of notions of diversity itself (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). A lack of clear definition and boundaries regarding the concept adds further confusion for those attempting to implement diversity strategies within an organisational context (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Dasli, 2018). In an effort to add greater clarity to the debate, this section will provide an overview of the socio-historical context for diversity management, examine key debates within the diversity literature and present the main theoretical frameworks used to analyse diversity.

2.3 Understanding the concept of diversity: Social-historical context

In order to understand the debate surrounding diversity within the academic literature, it is critical to understand the broader socio-historical context in which such debates exist. Notions of diversity in management have been heavily impacted by the civil rights movement and emerged alongside calls for equality and fairness for individuals within all aspects of life (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002). Early legislation in the U.K. and U.S. aimed to address discrimination in many areas, but most notably

employment, where such discrimination was rife and self-evident (Brazzel, 2003; DBIS, 2013). This may go some way to explain the focus on early conceptions of diversity as explained in terms of gender, ethnicity and race.

In recent years, the acceleration of globalisation has resulted in diversity becoming an organisational reality for many managers, with the number of women and ethnic minorities entering the workforce rising dramatically (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Dasli, 2018). Organisations, particularly within the hospitality sector, have become increasingly diverse, putting pressure on managers to devise strategies to effectively manage a workforce composed of many different identities (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Syed and Kramar, 2009; Podsiadlowski et al. 2012). Socio-economic trends such as mass migration and the breakdown of barriers to trade and the movement of labour and capital mean that recruitment in many organisations operates at a global, rather than local, or even national scale (DBIS, 2013). Furthermore, an aging population has resulted in a much greater diversity of age ranges within the workforce (DBIS, 2013).

In addition to this, as described above, there has been a conceptual and linguistic shift towards diversity management as opposed to equal opportunities (Marten, 2017). In part, this might be explained as a political reaction to right wing opposition to discourses of equal opportunity and political correctness (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002). Furthermore, although diversity management and equal opportunities may be described as operating along the same continuum, it is undeniable that this shift has been impacted by evolving conceptions of identity that go beyond visible, evident categories such as gender and race and other ways in which identity may be formulated and articulated (Litvin, 1997; Skilling, 2015; Hove, 2016). These wider

intellectual and political trends have also had a critical impact upon diversity literature, and will be discussed in more detail below.

2.4 Conceptualisation of Diversity

2.4.1 Diversity from Moral-Ethical and Economic-Organisational Paradigms

Academic approaches to diversity may be roughly divided into two conceptual approaches: moral-ethical perspective, and economical standpoint (DBIS, 2013). This difference is marked by a key distinction in objectives: the former is based upon notions of equality and fairness in employee opportunity, and the latter aims at improved organisational performance. This division has also been characterised by a distinction between equal opportunities or affirmative action, and those that make a business case for diversity.

It should be noted, however, that this distinction is not so clear as the literature often suggests. Equal opportunities legislation has been shown to govern the practical management of diversity in the workplace, meaning that any discussion of the business case for diversity must inevitably deal with the moral and ethical considerations that underpin such legislation (DBIS, 2013). Furthermore, it has been asserted that rather than comprising a binary opposition of perspectives, equal opportunities and diversity management should be regarded as being part of the same spectrum, operating across a broad continuum (Armstrong et al., 2010). Furthermore, the two concepts may be regarded simply as part of a progression in developing equality within organisations and the distinction is simply a case of changing discourses and new ways to articulate the issues, costs and benefits (McDougall, 1998). As a result, the socio-historical context of diversity must be

outlined in order to understand the conceptual progression of the concept of diversity and the socio-economic developments that have shaped this discourse.

Ethical or moral approaches to diversity typically focus on the imperative to ensure equity between different members of an organisation. In particular, “the moral case has often been expressed in terms of Equal Opportunities, which has found manifestation in various pieces of legislation” (DBIS, 2013, p.2). Equal opportunities may be defined as the ability for an individual to take advantage of opportunities presented to them, without suffering discrimination based on some aspect of their identity, such as race, age or gender (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). Substantive approaches to equal opportunity have often fallen into the category of affirmative action, whereby specific groups or communities become the beneficiaries of particular action or projects that aim to ‘level the playing field’ after a long period of discrimination.

Equal opportunities and affirmative action are frequently confused, but not only are they distinct concepts, care must be taken to articulate how they relate to (rather than equate to) the moral-ethical case for diversity (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). Affirmative action is designed to “compensate for past and present injustices” (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005, p.832), and along with equal opportunities, views diversity from a social and legal perspective. The distinction between equal opportunities and diversity management was articulated by Liff and Wajeman (1996) who raise a distinction between principles of ‘sameness’ and principles of ‘difference’. The principle of sameness suggests that those who possess similar abilities ought to have the same access to employment and benefits without being subject to discrimination (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). The moral-ethical approach naturally accommodates these principles, but also emphasises value in a diverse

'other' rather than simply focusing on rights and access (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013). The moral-ethical approach is closely tied to notions of corporate social responsibility, and draws on an ethical approach to diversity by prioritising employee well-being as a core goal (DBIS, 2013). Whilst it is most often articulated through a legal framework relating to equal opportunities and affirmative action, the moral-ethical approach tends to be characterised by organisations that go beyond their legal obligation in order to ensure employee well-being (DBIS, 2013).

Although it has been demonstrated that the ethical and business cases for diversity are not mutually exclusive (Armstrong et al., 2010), proponents of the ethical case have argued that equal opportunities and affirmative action are necessary prerequisites for diversity management (Taylor et al., 1997; Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). In order for an organisation to adopt, or even require, diversity management strategies, it must first have a diverse workforce (Mor Barak, 2013). Taylor et al. (1997) investigated the effectiveness of anti-discrimination training programmes in the U.K., stressing the importance of strategies to reform recruitment practices and ensure upward mobility for ethnic minority employees within organisations. They suggest that although legislative efforts to eradicate discrimination from the workplace have had an impact in the U.K., significant efforts still need to be made in order to dismantle prejudices ingrained within organisational cultures (Taylor et al., 1997).

From this perspective, diversity management is fruitless without greater efforts to ensure access and fairness in recruitment policies (Taylor et al., 1997). This view, however, has not been validated by more recent observations of the level of diversity within certain employment sectors (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). It may be argued that the impact of globalisation on the workforce over the past decade, particularly in

the U.S., means that diversity in the workforce has become a reality regardless of the efficacy of anti-discrimination legislation (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). As a result, equal opportunities in employment and promotion has increasingly been replaced by calls for effective diversity management to ensure fair treatment of employees from minority groups in all aspects of working life (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). Whilst organisations have become increasingly diverse, systemic and institutional prejudices ingrained within organisational cultures means that certain groups within organisations are still significantly disadvantaged (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005).

In addition to this, it has also been suggested that purely focusing on the business case for diversity, without sufficient acknowledgement of ethical approaches, does not adequately address issues of systemic discrimination against minority groups. In a study of 2005, Tsogas and Subeliani investigated the case of a Dutch bank where anti-discriminatory policies were adopted in the recruitment process. The authors found that rather than focusing on effective diversity management within the workforce, the primary goal of these endeavours was to attract a broader consumer base by providing a diverse image of the company that would appeal to customers from minority communities (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). As a result, these policies did not provide a more beneficial situation for their ethnic minority employees, who were placed in low-level, consumer facing positions that benefited the public image of the bank, but were largely excluded from higher level positions and suffered significant discrimination (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005). Although this study was based on an individual case and further evidence must be gathered to validate their conclusions, these findings are corroborated by studies that argue that diversity management is only effectively pursued to the extent that it aligns with a corporate

agenda (Glastra et al., 2000). By focusing on the economic benefits of diversity to the exclusion of a moral-ethical imperative that values diverse individuals, effective diversity management is significantly limited (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005).

In light of recent shifts in management discourse away from affirmative action and towards diversity management, the ethical approach to diversity has been somewhat side-lined (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000). However, more recently, efforts have been made to reconcile ethical and business cases for diversity. A notable example of this approach is to be found in a recent study by Gotsis and Kortezi (2013), who devised a comprehensive moral framework for adopting diversity practices within the workplace. This study drew on Aristotelian ethics of care in order to propose diversity management strategies that support the notion of value in the diverse 'other' (Gotsis and Kortezi, 2013). By arguing that ethically formulated approaches to diversity that value diverse individuals within an organisation may build a framework that acts to improve organisational performance, Gotsis and Kortezi effectively marry the moral and business cases for diversity whilst simultaneously maintaining a distinction between the two approaches.

Ozbilgin and Tatli (2011) have argued that diversity management may be considered to be a different approach to the equal opportunities, or the moral-ethical perspective outlined above. They suggest that more recent notions of diversity have focused on the organisational benefits that may be accrued by an effective diversity policy, at the expense of a consideration of the moral imperative to ensure equality within employees (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2011). This also is known as the 'business case for diversity', and although it does deal with issues surrounding employee well being, this is most often articulated in terms of the economic benefits that this may have for the organisation as a whole (DBIS, 2013).

Whilst equal opportunities have been compared to 'opening the door', in order to allow access to disadvantaged groups, diversity management is conceptualised as dealing with the organisational reality of diverse workforces (Mor Barak, 2013). Consequently, many of these approaches have considered the practical effects of diversity management on organisational dynamics. Several studies have emphasised the positive impact of diverse organisations in increasing creativity (DBIS, 2013), attracting a broader customer base (Tsogas and Subeliani, 2005) and improving profits (Scott, 2005). Overall, it has been suggested that a firm's performance correlates strongly with diversity within the organisation (DBIS, 2013). However, despite the fact that a strong case has been made for the business case for diversity, the evidence surrounding the potential benefits and disadvantages of a diverse workforce is highly contested (William's and O'Reilly, 1998). For example, Ozbilgin and Tatli (2011) cite high staff turnover, bad PR, and employment tribunals as potential negative effects of diversity within organisations that must be addressed in order to exploit the economic benefits of a diverse workforce. A lack of appropriate diversity management has also been shown to increase the cost of discrimination (Sanchez and Brock, 1996) and increase absenteeism (Commission for Racial Equality, 1995). This will be discussed at length below, but it is important to note here that the economic approach to diversity represents an overall change in discourse and an attempt to 'sell' diversity management, and that there is a large degree of debate surrounding the actual extent of these potential benefits (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998).

One significant result of the emerging distinction between equal opportunities and the economic case for diversity within the academic literature has been to broaden definitions of what constitutes diversity within the workplace. Rather than focusing on

overt demographic aspects, which are more easily accounted for in legal or affirmative action approaches, diversity management has more recently begun to encompass aspects such as workplace experience and expertise. These approaches “tend to relate to the characteristics of groups and individuals (workers, consumers and otherwise)” (DBIS, 2013). The economic-organisational approach to diversity tends to accommodate broader definitions of diversity as part of an effort to recognise, address and exploit ‘difference’ within the organisation (DBIS, 2013). This impact is highly significant for the study and understanding of diversity management and will be considered in detail below.

2.4.2 Discrimination and Fairness versus Access and Legitimacy Paradigms

The discrimination and fairness paradigm is one of the most dominant ways in which to understand the concept of diversity in management (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Ely and Thomas, 2001; Metcalfe, 2010; Akobo, 2017). Operating on the assumption that every individual is equal, it effectively attempts to abolish the concept of diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999). It perceives diversity as “an organisational problem to be solved” (Dass and Parker, 1999: p.71). The discrimination and fairness paradigm go hand in hand with traditional conceptions of equal opportunities and affirmative action and is often characterised by organisational efforts to recruit and retain individuals from minority groups in order to meet targets and legal obligations (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Ely and Thomas, 2003).

Indeed, as Thomas and Ely note, “progress in diversity is measured by how well the company achieves its recruitment and retention goals rather than by the degree to which conditions in the company allow employees to draw on their personal assets and perspectives to do their work more effectively. The staff, one might say, gets diversified, but the work does not” (1996, p.3). The discrimination and fairness

paradigm, therefore, has been criticised for not valuing diversity, and for aiming to create homogeneity within society and organisations (Dass and Parker, 1999; Thomas and Ely, 1996). Under this paradigm, “differences do not count” (Thomas and Ely, 1996, p.3), meaning that, correspondingly, the organisation frequently fails to take advantage of the potential to learn and improve based on the differing perspectives of its employees, creating instead, a pattern of assimilation. Such companies have been shown to be less adaptable and flexible, and more resistant to change (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Metcalfe, 2010; Akobo, 2017).

In contrast, the ‘access and legitimacy paradigm’ actively values difference among employees, as a means by which companies can remain flexible and ensure a wide market appeal in an increasingly multicultural society (Thomas and Ely, 1996; Akobo, 2017). It tends to be adopted by companies for whom diversity is a key market concern: i.e., those where the consumer base is particularly diverse, and therefore has strong ties with the business case for diversity as discussed above (Thomas and Ely, 1996). Part of the underlying principle here is to ensure that the organisation can appeal directly to a diverse consumer base and access niche markets, for example, “legitimacy may be sought by IBM managers who believe it is important for customers to look inside the company see people like themselves” (Dass and Parker, 1999, p.71). This paradigm, however, has been criticised for increasing stereotyping and emphasising diversity without fully understanding the complexities of different identities and the benefits that they may bring to an organisation (Thomas and Ely, 1996). By placing individuals from minorities in positions where they deal with niche markets, for example, such individuals can feel that other opportunities are closed to them: mobility is actually reduced, rather than enabled (Thomas and Ely, 1996). Furthermore, as discussed above, Tsogas and

Subeliani (2005) found that prioritising the business benefits of portraying the company as multi-cultural had a positive effect on public image and a negative effect for staff that formed part of minority groups.

The 'learning perspective', as articulated by Dass and Parker, "encourages legal compliance and training, but also encourages active participation in finding better, faster or more efficient ways of compliance beyond those legally mandated" (1999, p.72). It attempts to value both similarities and differences within the workforce, and maintains an awareness of the immediate and long-term consequences of diversity (Dass and Parker, 1999). It does not simply aim for direct, measurable business gains, or legal compliance, but aims to accrue multiple benefits from a diversity programme, including employee well-being, greater levels of efficiency and customer satisfaction (Dass and Parker, 1999; Skilling, 2015; Hove, 2016; Guilherme, 2017; Pulido-Fuentes et al. 2017). This approach draws on principles espoused in both the moral-ethical approach to diversity and the economic-organisational case for diversity.

2.4.3 Narrow or Broad Definitions of Diversity

One of the most fundamental issues within the literature is found in the definition of what constitutes diversity (Guzzo and Dickson, 1996; Metcalfe, 2010). This ranges from very limited (narrow) definitions, traditionally focused on aspects such as race/ethnicity, gender and age, to those (broad) definitions that encompass almost any aspect that individuals might use to identify themselves or others. Proponents of a narrow, more precise definition have argued that the ambiguity brought about by broader definitions renders the concept meaningless (Cross et al., 1994). Moreover, broader definitions tend to encompass so many facets of identity that almost every person within an organisation may fall into one category or another, making it very

difficult for managers to effectively identify discrimination (Cross et al., 1994; Steger and Erwee, 2001). Despite this concern, it is also clear that diversity within organisations goes far beyond overt demographic aspects such as ethnicity or gender and ought to acknowledge aspects such as expertise level or length of tenure in the analysis (Jackson, Stone and Alvarez, 1993).

Workplace diversity refers to “the co-existence of employees from various socio-cultural backgrounds within the company” (Ongori and Agolla, 2007, p.73). It therefore may relate to any identifying socio-cultural aspect ascribed to an individual or group. The narrowest definitions of diversity tend to focus on visible demographic aspects such as gender, race or ethnicity or age (Wiersema and Bird, 1993). Broader definitions include sexual orientation, professional skill or expertise, education, language, lifestyle, beliefs or economic status (Ongori and Agolla, 2007). Broader still, Jackson, Stone and Alvarez point to diversity as encompassing “situations in which the actors of interest are not alike with respect to some attribute(s)” (1993, p.53). Many studies attempting to assess workplace diversity have focused on professional expertise, sometimes at the expense of demographic information (Wittenbaum and Stasser, 1996).

This plurality of perspectives has given rise to a different understanding of how to identify diversity within the workforce (Kanter (1977; Mazur, 2010). Kanter (1977) suggests that any underrepresented category or identifying feature within a group may emerge as a potential basis for categorisation. Identifying characteristics, therefore, only emerge, or gain significance, when they form a minority (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). In this respect, the organisational context gains importance, as it may result in some identifying features receiving further prominence at the expense of others. Organisational culture is also a significant moderator; group dynamics are

expected to work very differently in Western organisations where a culture of individualism prevails, compared to that of a culture where a tradition of collectivism is stronger (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, some analysts go so far as to assert that identifying factors to be considered in terms of diversity may encompass any and only those factors which have social meaning to the group under discussion (Konrad and Gutek, 1987).

It is clear, therefore, that many different approaches have been taken in order to attempt to define diversity at a conceptual level. It is possible to categorise these approaches in a way that considers the complexities of deep and surface-level approaches to diversity, and exemplifies the way in which broader conceptions of diversity have gone far beyond the traditional equal opportunities approach that has formed the basis for anti-discrimination strategies (DBIS, 2013).

- Demographic differences: these definitions of diversity frequently rely upon legally articulated notions of identity and visible social characteristics. They include age, gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical capabilities (Wiersema and Bird, 1993).
- Skills and knowledge: many definitions focus on education, experience and training as a key differentiator within groups (Wittenbaum and Stasser, 1996).
- Values and beliefs: These definitions may include culture, ideology or political views and frequently relate to different approaches within the workplace (Konrad and Gutek, 1987)
- Personality differences: at an individual level, diversity has been recognised within those people who possess a different cognitive style, affective disposition or motivational factors (Manoharan and Singal, 2017).

- Social network and organisational relationships: this refers to the personal and professional relationships that exist between members of particular groups, including friendship and community ties, title, tenure and intra-group relationships (Grossberg, 1996; Litvin, 1997).

For Williams and O'Reilly, "the effects of diversity can result from any attribute that people use to tell themselves that another person is different" (1998, p.81). It is clear that a better understanding of different conceptions of identity is critical to a thorough grasp of the concept of diversity.

2.4.5 Stable or Dynamic Conceptions of Identity

Recent literature on diversity has challenged traditional, fixed notions of identity, and instead begun to consider identities as fluid and dynamic. Bauman (1993) has argued that such fixed conceptions of identity are tied to a rational perspective that serves to "disenchant the world by rendering the unknown known, the unpredictable predictable and the unmalleable malleable (thus emphasising the controlling nature of diversity management)" (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002, p.25). The studies described above have sought to emphasise that notions of difference and identity should be expanded to include societal and cultural identifiers such as education or religion in addition to visible, immutable categories such as age or ethnicity. This is demonstrated by Litvin's (1997) analysis that divides categories of diversity into 'primary' and 'secondary' characteristics. Litvin (1997) engages in a process of discourse analysis that situates the origins of diversity within the fields of natural science and philosophy. By unpicking the discourse surrounding diversity, and contrasting them with diversity discourses that exist in scientific domains, she exposes the "essentialist assumptions upon which contemporary diversity discourse is based" (Litvin, 1997, p.187). This represents an innovative challenge to some of

the deeply rooted principles and concepts that govern conceptions and definitions of diversity.

By attempting to compartmentalise notions of difference, we impose a rigid conception of identity that represents a will to control and constrain the “wild profusion of human alterity” (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002, p 25). In other words, ordering difference results in “more divisions, diversity and ambivalence” (Bauman, 1993, p.5). Similarly, Litvin (1997) questioned such fixed notions of identity, arguing instead for a more fluid understanding of difference. This must consider the different ways in which particular cultures at particular periods have sought to understand the identity formation and notions of the ‘self’ (Rose, 2005). As Lorbiecki and Jack note, “the view that social identities are fixed is currently being contested within cultural studies which is engaged in an on-going discussion on identity and its relation to the self” (2002, p.26).

The prevailing discourse surrounding diversity management has assumed that identities are fixed and separate (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002). Although this discourse has sought to incorporate the notion of multiple, composite identities in recent years (Grossberg, 1996), it has not been successful in breaking down the assumption that identities are monolithic and fixed. As a result, it may be argued that the very notion of diversity ‘management’ perpetuates a discourse of rigid identities born out of a need to understand and categorise notions of difference. Such an endeavour fundamentally fails to capture the fluid nature of identity formation, resulting in some of the issues that will be discussed in more detail below (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002).

2.5 Theoretical perspectives used in analysing Diversity

The debates outlined above represent key areas where the academic literature on diversity has focused in recent years. However, these developments should be

considered in light of theoretical developments that have further impacted upon our conceptions of diversity and informed managerial approaches (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Several theoretical frameworks have emerged in an attempt to facilitate assessments of diversity within organisations. The three most prominent approaches are social categorisation theory, attraction theory and decision-making or information theory. The literature surrounding these will be briefly reviewed here.

2.5.1 Social Categorisation Theory

Social categorisation theory was proposed by Turner (1987) who described a process of social comparison derived from a desire on the part of an individual to increase their self-esteem. Turner's theory drew from previous work on social identity theory that posited that interaction between people might be understood as belonging to a spectrum, ranging from interpersonal to intergroup exchanges (Horney, 2008). An interpersonal interaction disregards all social categories, whereas an intergroup interaction only views the individual through their representative group characteristics (Hornsey, 2008). Because the process of categorisation inevitably leads to reflection on the individuals' own characteristics, they tend to reinforce and react positively to individuals exemplifying the same characteristics in order to reinforce their own positive self-image (Hornsey, 2008).

This was later developed by Turner (1987, 2007), who identified three levels of categorisation: human identity, social identity and personal identity. This process of social categorisation requires the individual to create a self-categorisation, often drawing on salient characteristics as described above (Turner, 1987). These may include race, ethnicity, religion, age, sexual orientation, or any other identifying feature important to the individual (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; **Sindic & Condor, 2014**). Hogg & Reid (2006) notes prevailing social norm play important roles in

sustaining self-categorization. The resultant self-categorisation leads to the categorisation of other individuals on the same basis, eliciting a positive reaction for those who express similar characteristics, and often a negative reaction for those who exemplify differences (Turner, 1987; Hornsey, 2008). Many studies of diversity demonstrate that this process often leads to isolation, stereotyping and polarisation within groups, therefore concluding that diversity can lead to negative effects on workforce cohesion (Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly, 1992; Smith et al., 1994; Hogg & Reid, 2006; Hornsey, 2008; Hogg, 2012; Sindic & Condor, 2014).

Academic research in all aspects of diversity has, therefore, often drawn directly or indirectly upon social categorisation theory. In a 1974 study, Word et al. observed that when interviewers were presented with a candidate who belonged to a different identifiable group, subconscious prejudices were apparent, with more time being given to candidates who were perceived to be within the 'in-group'. Furthermore, negative behaviour was shown to also be reproduced by the excluded party, perpetuating tensions between the two perceived groups (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998).

At the core of social categorisation theory are the notions of inclusion and exclusion. Cox (1991), demonstrates that diversity within groups has frequently led to exclusion from information, opportunities and social interaction. However, this can also work in the opposite way, with positive discrimination occurring when individuals identify another person from a different group and make compensatory efforts to ensure that they do not isolate or exclude them (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986). Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) term this phenomenon 'aversive racism', and argue that subconscious motivations cause individuals to change their behaviour when confronted with a perceived 'other'.

Social categorisation theory has important implications for the study of diversity by shedding new light on the way in which stereotyping occurs in-group settings. Rather than assuming stereotypes arise as a result of a lack of knowledge or ability to process complex social information, social categorisation theory helps to “explain the social world and to legitimise the past and current actions of the in-group” (Horney, 2008, p.209). It has been criticised, however, for ignoring the fact that groups often have been shown to tolerate diversity, and that its reductionist approach tends to obscure the importance of individualism in many practical settings (Horney, 2008).

Many studies that report negative outcomes of workplace diversity have methodologies rooted in social categorisation frameworks. These studies have noted a reduction in problem-solving activities, lower levels of creativity, higher levels of conflict and factionalisation within the workplace (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Hogg & Reid, 200; Krueger & DiDonato, 2008). However, it has also been proposed that a greater understanding of these cognitive processes may lead to strategies designed to overcome such difficulties within diverse groups (O'Reilly and Chatman, 1996). O'Reilly and Chatman (1996) argue that the creation of a shared culture or solidarity within diverse groups can act to reproduce the social categorisation process to the benefit of the diverse organisation. This bypasses conflict through the artificial creation of a new identity, and establishing a commitment to the group (O'Reilly and Chatman, 1996). This approach may inform diversity management strategies within organisations, enabling managers to turn such cognitive processes to the organisation's advantage.

2.5.2 Attraction Theory

Attraction theory is closely linked with social categorisation theory and draws on the conclusion that individuals will most likely display positive reactions to those who

they perceive to demonstrate similar characteristics to themselves or things from which they derive satisfaction (Pfeffer, 1985; De Juan, 2004; Finkel & Baumeister, 2009; Ortlieb, 2014; Bohns, Scholer & Rehman, 2015). Finkel & Baumeister (2009) explain that people become each other due to some factors, personal (perceiver) factors, relationship factors, and environmental factors. Each of these factors can lead to increased interactions within the homogenous sub-group, often leading to reduced communication and cooperation with other members of the team who then become isolated (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). In an approach closely aligned with social categorisation theory, Byrne (1971) argued that there are several reasons why individuals might be attracted to other who exhibit similar salient attributes. Firstly, identifying similar attributes in another person reinforces individual identity and self-worth, affirming and reinforcing personal attitudes (Byrne, 1971). Based on findings from four different studies, Bohns, Scholer & Rehman (2015) suggest that in order to appropriately understand attraction and relationship dynamics, it is necessary to put into consideration the implicit individual beliefs and values that influence their characters. According to Chentouf (2013, p.38) human emotion facilitate moral judgment, which acts "as the means of conceptual attraction between the different cognitive entities, including moral beliefs and rules". In addition, similarity breeds a greater level of understanding and empathy, allowing individuals to both understand the other's perspective and more easily predict their reactions and perspectives (Byrne, 1971).

Despite attraction theory's popularity, there are demonstrable cases where it does not hold up to scrutiny. Finkel & Baumeister (2009) explains that in spite of the recent resurgence of attraction scholarship, it theoretically remains a morass and scholars have given limited attention to integrate it. Rosenbaum (1986) suggested

that attitudinal dissimilarity, rather than similarity, formed the basis for links between similar individuals. In his view, the desire of individuals to avoid those with dissimilar beliefs was stronger, or as strong, as their attraction towards those with similar attributes (Rosenbaum, 1986). This view was supported by Singh and Ho (2000) who, in a study where 192 individuals were asked to judge the attractiveness of a stranger, found that there was an equal weighting of similarity and dissimilarity in determining attraction. Despite this, literature in the field of diversity management has frequently supported the view that individuals within an organisational context will tend to behave more positively towards those who demonstrate similar attributes (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). **Bohns, Scholer & Rehman (2015)**, suggest that in order to appropriately understand attraction and relationship dynamics, it is necessary to put into consideration the implicit distinct beliefs.). Tsui and O'Reilly (1989) demonstrated, in a study of relationships between superiors and subordinates in an organisational context, that those who exhibited similar attributes were often given preferential treatment in terms of performance evaluation and general cooperation.

Zenger and Lawrence (1989) drew on attraction theory in an investigation of technical communication within firms and how it may be affected by diversity within the organisation. Focusing primarily on age diversity, and tenure distributions, they conducted an empirical study that measured the frequency of technical communication within U.S electronics. The results indicated that age and tenure distribution did have a significant effect upon communications, suggesting that the communication was facilitated amongst those with similar attributes. Furthermore, significant research has demonstrated that individuals in a free choice situation will be more likely to interact with an individual who exhibits similar attributes (Lincoln

and Miller, 1989). Lincoln and Miller (1989) conducted a study that aimed to establish which attributes would impact most upon ties between individuals within an organisation. From factors such as race, age, gender, authority, education and branch assignment, sex and race (the most visibly evident characteristics) were found to create the strongest bonds in improving communication (Lincoln and Miller, 1989).

One notable exception to this trend may also be observed in the work of Lincoln and Miller (1989), who, by studying work and friendship ties in an organisational context, found that primary social ties operated differently within a workplace setting than within other social contexts. Whereas in social groups similarity between individuals was a significant predictor of friendship, within a workplace context they observed that individuals of particular status within the organisation were placed in central positions, creating what they call a “centre-periphery pattern in friendship networks” (Lincoln and Miller, 1989, p.196). The dynamics of power and the will to be linked to those who had power within the organisation appeared to significantly affect the way in which individuals formed social ties, running contrary to their expected results of similarity as being a key driver of workplace friendship (Lincoln and Miller, 1989).

2.5.3 Decision-Making Theory

The third theory underpinning many studies of diversity is that of information and decision-making. This rests on the assumption that those individuals exhibiting similar attributes tend to communicate and cooperate more and, as a result, they are exposed to more channels of potential information from outside the immediate organisational context (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). In more recent literature, the quality of interpersonal subtleties are influential in workgroups decision-making processes and could promote or hinder equal participation of members with different

identities and backgrounds (Mannix & Neale, 2006; Van Knippenberg et al., 2010; Fredette, Bradshaw & Krause, 2016). These leads to a series of benefits as well as drawbacks, where the organisational capacity is improved as a result of the increased creativity in problem solving, access to information and plurality of skills (Wittenbaum and Stasser, 1996). Conversely, it may lead to isolation, with some members of the group being suppressed by the 'in-group' and consequently being prohibited from sharing all the knowledge available to them (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). The onus, therefore, is placed on managers to create an organisational culture that effectively taps all the potential skills, information and resources that a particular individual has to offer within a heterogeneous group (Lazear, 1997).

In contrast to the other theories under discussion, the application of this theory in a diversity context has frequently concentrated on subjective attributes, including skill or expertise level, or tenure within the organisation (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Decision-making theory is rooted in the idea that within a diverse group, different individuals will approach problems differently as a result of their unique background, referring to the conjunction of aspects such as their education, experience, personality and sources of information (Mannix and Neale, 2005). This approach suggests that homogeneity within a group leads to stagnation in decision-making processes, and that a larger pool of information resources leads to integrated knowledge, higher levels of creativity and better decision-making (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998).

Although information and decision-making theory is an interdisciplinary topic, utilised in philosophy, sociology, psychology, economics and politics, it is generally supported by empirical research in the diversity management field (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). In a study of Israeli military crews, Tziner and Eden (1985)

concluded that for interdependent tasks, diverse crew composition had a positive impact on overall group performance. In addition to this, Zenger and Lawrence (1989) suggest that although diversity within the identified groups brought disadvantages in communication, individuals were able (through a process linked to similarity-attraction theory) to source information and expertise from other channels which could then be brought advantageously to the diverse group within the organisation.

Similarly, Ancona and Caldwell (1992) found that individuals with different ages, levels of expertise and backgrounds were able to bring new and valuable knowledge to organisations. In a study of 45 product teams in the high-tech industry, they observed that both functional and tenure diversity had a positive impact on firm performance and group functioning (Ancona and Caldwell, 1992). Information theory, therefore, highlights the potential for benefits arising from diverse knowledge within diverse groups, although it is clear that the challenges of sharing, exploiting and disseminating this knowledge are still precluded by the issues identified by proponents of social categorisation and similarity-attraction theories as discussed above.

The evolution of the concept of diversity, therefore, has undergone a considerable transformation over the past four decades (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2002). Early articulations and definitions of diversity were framed within the context of equal opportunities and emphasise the moral-ethical perspective that aims to ensure equality for individuals within the workforce (DBIS, 2013). However, evolving conceptions of identity, and a dramatic increase in globalisation have forced a re-evaluation of the concept of diversity and resulted in a much broader definition of diversity and the development of the concept of diversity management as an

alternative (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). This has brought with it significant problems, meaning that in a situation where everyone is 'different', the concept of diversity itself is rendered almost meaningless. The following section will address the ways in which these social structures and work life balance (WLB) have impacted upon equality and gender diversity management in the practical sphere.

2.6 Barriers to gender diversity in workplace

There have been gender inequality issues in the workplace. Despite the increase in female employees, patriarchy still exists in the workforce. Women are underrepresented in areas of executive leadership, directorship, and governance (Joshi et al., 2015).

There is still more to be done to enhance the promotion of women in the workplace. Ensuring that both men and women are treated and given equal chances will ensure the prosperity of an organisation. Gender inequality and discrimination is an issue that has been around for many years and is not specific to any sector, culture, country or region of the world (Baum, 2007). Available evidence suggests that the level of society's economic development does not necessarily correlate with equal opportunity for females in various spheres of leadership. The following section aims to discuss the barriers of gender diversity.

2.6.1 Social structures as barrier of gender diversity

The Jigawa State Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development (2013, p.8) defines patriarchy as a "social system in which men dominate: a social system in which men are regarded as the authority within the family and society, and in which

power and possessions are passed on from father to son". This is discussed as a system in the literature (Hook 2013). Patriarchy is seen as a system that accords males privileges and evolves through the processes of gendered socialisation in every area of people's lives, including cultural, economic, ideological, political, social and spiritual (Walia, 2006). One of the major misconceptions in the mainstream literature is what seems to be a belief that patriarchy mainly affects females (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2008; Agu, 2007; Erulkar and Bello, 2007; Akunga and Attfield, 2010; British Council, 2012). Bello (2007) revisits myths surrounding the origin of patriarchy and argue that "Gendered relations are not outcomes of genetic selection, divine mandate, or historical inevitability". They employed an historical and evolutionary psychological approach to examine the dominant view of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity and argued that, in their analysis, while "the prevailing story told to children at home and at school is that men have always been dominant, implying that current social relations are the result of survival of the fittest", it is not true. Instead, patriarchy is something that shifts from "being something men do to women and becomes a shared logic that we all respond to" (Ibid. p.219). Another important shift observable from their analysis is their critique of many theories that construe patriarchy as class warfare in which males constitute a class that is bent on hurting females, which also constitutes another class.

Hegemonic masculinity, which was advanced by Connell (1990), is concerned with male dominated institutions and cultural narratives (Connell, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is thus an analytical framework for the interrogation of the institutionalised overt and covert dominance, Connell (1990: 83) summarised it: "the culturally idealised form of masculine character". This study is particularly interested

in questioning, "how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance" (Carrigan, Connell and Lee 1993, p.92). While Arbach, Kolev and Filipiak (2010) appear to have absolved labour market discrimination and opposed the widespread assumptions that tend to label gender practices that exacerbate inequality as discrimination., They fail to explain the "model of masculinity that, operating on the terrain of "common sense" and conventional morality, defines "what it means to be a man" (Hanke 1990, p.232) Kolev, contributes to define who gets what in the society as well as how individuals are treated in a manner that advances subordination of women. Donaldson (1993) argues that hegemonic masculinity as a social condition operates to sustain the control of women.

Hegemonic masculinity has been extensively used in gender studies (e.g. Kneale, 2004; Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012; Currier, 2013; Gahman, 2014; Chess and Shaw, 2015; Hebert, 2016), possibly because it provides tools for contextualisation and analysis of intricate relationships. It offers a model for analysing various dimensions of masculinities and male dominated structures (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Carpenter 2015). Carpenter (2015) citing Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p.836) concludes hegemonic masculinity is a concept of non-static 'configuration of practice', and not some rigid construct. In the context of this study, it is used as a tool for deconstructing the localised and embedded dominance that interact with diverse factors in different contexts to influence people's choices and outcomes. In the literature, there is a consensus that female domination by males and male-dominated institutions constitute challenges to female development (Masadeh, 2013; Ekpe et al, 2014). In Nigeria, Ekpe et al (2014, p.15) highlight how females have been under male domination due to "persisting cultural

stereotype, abuse of religious and traditional practices, patriarchal societal structures in which economic, political and social power are dominated by men and the role women have historically played as the followers of male leaders". Also, within the hotel industry, Masadeh (2013) argues that especially amongst the upper management level it largely remains a male domain. Two kinds of hegemonies have been identified: 1) external hegemony (which is construed as male dominance over females) and 2) internal hegemony (which refers to an ascendancy of a group of males over other males) (Demetriou, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The study particularly relates to external hegemony.

Another important element of hegemonic masculinity relevant to this study is interrogation of the prevailing sex-role gender viewpoints. Generally, gender role philosophy emphasises males' socialisation processes within a historically and culturally defined and expected structure of compliance. It includes belief and practices that mark, in which ways males are expected to live their lives (Gillon, 2008). Hegemonic masculinity explores gender issues in society and culture beyond sex roles and also provides opportunity for questioning the social construction of maleness and femaleness in society (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985; Kimmel, 1987; Wetherell and Edley, 1999; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Demetriou, 2001). Furthermore, it considers how power relations in patriarchal societies give advantages to males over females. Religion also plays an important role in sustaining patriarchy and shaping cultural and institutional practices. Some observers also link development and sustenance of patriarchy to religion. Mills and Ryan (2004) draw on Catholic women's experiences and how their religious practices shaped their experiences and opportunities to conclude that religion extensively influences people's notions of management, including the corporate

entities and gendered practices in organisations. Crane-Seeber and Crane (2010) explain that religious perspectives on patriarchy and masculinity provide justification for hierarchical society from an ideological and cosmological standpoint with stories of fatherly leadership and duty to protect as well as controlling others under their authority. In this regard, patriarchal social arrangements tend to be justified by historical practices that are traceable to institutionalised female subservience designed by a male god. Crane-Seeber and Crane note that these narrative accords husbands' authority over their wives and children, with an authority that was derived from Adam that has become a template for ecclesiastical and royal powers. Further, Crane-Seeber and Crane (2010) reject feminists' relational ontology of gender that has been shaped by Beauvoir's (1989, p.725) argument that "Woman is determined not by her hormones or by mysterious instincts, but by the manner in which her body and her relation to the world are modified through the action of others than herself". However, the authors concede that patriarchal practices can be challenged and the myths and stories in dominant culture (including nationalistic, scientific, circular and religious) tend to profoundly influence how people see themselves, their sexualities and their partners. Crane-Seeber and Crane (2010) offer us some insightful ways to look at gender, masculinities and patriarchy, removed from the dominant religious and feminist narratives.

Hooks (2013) further explains that patriarchy represents a political-social system that provides platform for males to dominate and superintend over everything and everyone, especially females and allow men to operate with a mindset that they have natural rights for dominance and ruler ship through their maintenance of various sorts of psychological and emotional terrorism and violence. ILO (2015, p.12) notes that "one of the reasons why it can be more difficult for women to be selected for top

management jobs is that their management experience is not sufficiently diverse” but how can they get experience if their opportunities to do so have been blocked by cultural and institutional gender belief and practices? The report rightly notes that they had not been exposed to all manner of organisational operations during their careers and limiting their management experiences. Cultural beliefs and institutional practices tend to see some jobs as male jobs and thus discourage females from taking up certain roles. In the developing regions, an ILO survey confirms similar claims made by diverse studies that females interest in some kinds of roles and often experience some ‘glass walls’ walls and ‘glass ceiling’ in their career progressions, which are occasioned by gender segregation in occupations and management (see Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013; Bhat, Nitin and Fukey, 2014; Folkman, Sherwin, 2014). A small number of businesses had 100% or more than 50% females in managerial functions, especially in managerial roles like sales and operations managers, product, research and general managers, more organisations had 100% males (ILO, 2015). Social structures such as culture and religion tend to play a massive role in female job projection (Goetz 2016).

2.6.2 Work-life balance and gender diversity

The concept of work-life balance (WLB) is usually based on the ability of workers to find the ideal mix between their work and personal lives (Mohanty and Mohanty, 2014). Work reflects the career activities of an individual while the lifestyle involves family, health, leisure and pleasure (Einslin, 2003). Different factors determine the work-life balance, which includes individual matters that will always be unique. There is a need to note that WLB has been believed to be a scenario where there is a balance between work and domestic life in that there is no conflict between the two interfaces. The lack of planning and prioritisation can lead to frustration in the

process of finding a balance between individual's work and personal life activities (Toffoletti and Starr, 2016). The most important thing is to allocate adequate time for each side of interest without causing dissatisfaction. In other words, clearing all activities related to work as well as satisfying all personal activities can reflect adequate WLB.

A more significant sense of control leads to a better sense of life and improved mental health among employees in the workplace (Gregory and Milner, 2003). In most workplaces, women struggle to find a balance between work and personal activities (Aluchna and Aras, 2016). Their life involves various unavoidable circumstances such as pregnancy, maternity, parental leave, and domestic responsibilities. Women are faced with career interruptions that lower their performances (Chengadu and Scheepers, 2016). Interestingly, many WLB researchers have focused on the conflicts that arise between the work and the personal lives of employees in different sectors (Akanji, 2012). According to Eby et al. (2008), the discussions regarding these conflicts focused on women who started taking part in the employment sector since the introduction of the international markets between the 1970s and 1980s. In another study, Cresswell (2007) believes that the ability of a person to manage their work and non-work domains makes it possible for them to achieve the discussed WLB. He believes that the person must be self-aware and also aware of the organisational goals and the employer's expectations of her. Knowing this makes it possible for such a person to balance their personal lives and work, with as much satisfaction as possible.

A number of factors have been stated as affecting the balance between the work and personal lives of employees, for instance, there is the *spill-over effect* which implies that the effects of work could spill over into the family lives of employees and that the

opposite would also be the case (Bruck, Allen and Spector, 2002). As such, this effect would either reduce or add to the quality of work or family life. The other effect would be the *compensation effect*, which states that the worker would, in many cases, want to compensate for any low satisfaction at work with their personal lives and that the opposite would also be the case (Epie, 2009). This factor leads to lack of productivity for the employee in most cases, and thus leads to the much debated about work-life conflict (WLC). It is the effect of the macro-environmental factors that lead to the increased imbalances witnessed in this case (Pocock, 2005).

Political, social, cultural or even technological issues affect the way the employees balance work and private life (Williams and Boushey, 2010). A patriarchal society would definitely have stereotypes and social structures that divide the two genders according to roles (Agbajobi, 2010). In many developing countries, especially in Africa, the gender roles have been enshrined within the cultural setting. Most societies in Africa are male-dominated with gender roles being divided based on cultural beliefs. For instance, it is the work of the woman to care for her family and raise her children (Aziz and Cunnigham, 2008). This means that the women are expected to be domesticated while the men take care of the finances and bills (Akanji, 2012).

The lack of sufficient time to work and care for personal life makes it harder for women to perform much better at work. According to the ecological systems theory, the macrosystem has an affect on an individual in the end (Okpara and Wynn, 2007). The social structure and expectations of society on a person affects their effectiveness and this then leads to more comfort or discomfort at work or life or even both sides (Malik, 2010). Gender diversity and WLB have been a challenge for many employees especially women. Women face more career interruptions due to

personal issues such as parenting which take most of their time and energy (Bowen, Swim and Jacobs, 2000). It can lead to poor performance and mental fatigue for the affected workers.

2.6.3 Intersectionality and gender diversity

In consideration of interactions among culture, gender, locations and possible workplace practices, intersectionality theory and hegemonic masculinity are employed in this study. Intersectionality is a term used in civil rights contexts to describe the overlapping social identities and related systems of domination, oppression or discrimination. Intersectionality represents the idea that multiple characters overlap or intersect to develop a whole that is different from the component identities (Hardy-Fanta, 2013, p.47). The characters that intersect in society include social class, gender, age, mental disability, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical illness among others (Hancock, 2016, p.109). The theory of intersectionality is explained as “mutually constitutive relations among social identities”, which was advanced “to provide a more inclusive account of Black women’s experiences with sexism and racism” (Shields, 2008, p.303). It developed from investigations into the processes of production and reproduction of gender dominance, inequalities and oppression and is underlined by recognition of intersections of gender with various levels and dimensions of social identities. It assumes that there exists an intersectionality of identities that crosscut and relate with one another (Crenshaw, 2005; Shield, 2008; Hankivsky, 2014). Hankivsky (2014, p.2) explains that intersectionality as an analytical framework seeks to promote “understanding of human beings as shaped by the interaction of different social locations (e.g., ‘race’/ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age, disability/ability, migration status, religion)”. It is relevant to explain interactions that

take place within connected social systems and power structures such as policies, political and economic social structures and the media (Hankivsky, 2014).

Reflections on recent studies around gender diversity in management explain that they are intersectionality-inspired (Buhrmann, 2013; Hansen, 2013). The study particularly gives attention to the intersection of gender and culture in Nigerian contexts. Power relations across the ethnic groups within which data were collected, diversity as perceived by different cultures and their underpinning religious beliefs, respondents' construction and experiences of social justice and equity and, locations and period data were collected. It focuses on gender and culture (including its underpinning religious influences) as the central issues in intersectionality. The representation of gender diversity in the Nigerian hotel industry especially the women in the top-ranking job positions are analysed. Through a qualitative approach, the study seeks to explore new knowledge concerning the WLB among the women. Their roles are influenced by the gender, religion, and culture of the Northern Nigerian region.

Intersectionality-informed studies, such as this, are often adopting qualitative approaches (Hunting, 2014) and concurrently take into consideration diverse social elements such as race and gender (Cole, 2008, 2009; Ghavami and Peplau, 2012). Intersectionality theory enables investigators to "encapsulate historical and continuing relations of political, material and social inequality" (Cole, 2009, p.173) and, provides opportunities for understanding of people's experiences in the context of social identities and associated power relations. These identities greatly influence people's beliefs and experience of gender (Shields, 2008; Ghavami and Peplau, 2012). In this study, as in other intersectionality-informed studies, it is assumed that observed inequities in the workplace were not created and sustained by a single or

any distinct factors but are the outcome of various ethnic stereotypes, social power relations, locations and experiences that intersect (Ghavami and Peplau, 2012; Hankivsky, 2014).

2.6.4 Organisational practices (equality policy and diversity policy in the workplace)

The competitive advantages of workplace diversity have been widely researched and discussed (Ongori and Angolla, 2007). A diversified workforce have tendency to promote increased creativity, improve success in niche markets and lead to improved decision-making (Cox, 1993). Organisations that display cultural heterogeneity have been shown to display enhanced levels of interaction and exhibit higher performance (Watson, et al., 1993). For example, in a key study of 1992, McLeod and Lobel, in observing students tasked with a brainstorming exercise, noted that ethnically diverse groups produced higher quality ideas than the homogenous group. Furthermore, the fact that many organisations have actively pursued a diversity strategy indicates the prevailing view that diverse organisations increase competitive advantage.

Workplace diversity may be more significant within certain industries than others, with the service industry highlighted as a particular beneficiary of effective diversity management (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). In this context, smooth interactions and efficient communications are imperative and therefore not only can organisations directly benefit from a diversity strategy, they are also particularly susceptible to issues caused by mismanaged diverse workforces that might impede effective cooperation (Wentling and Palma-Rivas, 2000). Jackson and Joshi (2004) investigated the connection between social and demographic context, and the

effects of diversity on organisational performance. Their findings, based on a study of 365 sales teams within a large U.S. company, indicated that the characteristics of the team manager, and the demographic composition of the team in question were significant moderating factors on the impact of diversity on organisational performance (Jackson and Joshi, 2004).

In the context of the ever deepening interconnection of the globalised society, where there is a growing need to market to diverse, pluralistic communities, it has also been suggested that a diverse workforce can result in a better understanding of niche markets and particular customer needs (Wentling and Palma-Rivas, 2000). Furthermore, it has also been argued that maintaining a diverse workforce is becoming an imperative in terms of recent legislative efforts to promote equal opportunities, and acts as a defence against accusations of discrimination or organisational malpractice (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). Wentling and Palma-Rivas (2000) in a study based on semi-structured interviews amongst managers in multi-national corporations concluded that large companies are planning and implementing a variety of diversity programmes, both within the U.S. and abroad. This indicates that an effective diversity programme may enhance the organisation's public image and set an organisational culture, which is seen to value multifarious experience and skills amongst its workforce.

In addition to this research, studies have demonstrated that the business sector is a significant moderator of the effects of diversity on organisational performance (DBIS, 2013). In a study of 177 banks that were pursuing innovation strategies, greater ethnic diversity was demonstrated to have a positive effect on organisational performance (Richard et al., 2003). This suggests that effective diversity management programmes need to take overall organisational strategy and context

into account to ensure the best results (Richard et al., 2003). Supporting these findings, Tsogas and Subeliani (2005) noted that ethnic diversity among staff in a Dutch bank resulted in a broader appeal to an ethnic minority consumer base.

It is interesting to note, however, that in a study conducted by Watson et al. (1993) where both homogenous and heterogeneous groups were assessed in their problem-solving ability, homogenous groups initially outperformed the diverse group. However, over a longer time period, the heterogeneous group scored more highly as their cooperative abilities improved (Watson et al., 1993). This indicates that in some contexts, the benefits of diversity take longer to manifest themselves, which may account in some way for conflicting reports surveyed here.

In contrast to the research cited above, many studies have proposed that diversity can have a negative effect on organisational efficiency and productivity. Most frequently, research has found that diverse workforces often experience high staff turnover and reported lower levels of satisfaction amongst employees (Milliken and Martins, 1996). In a study conducted on 398 hospitals, Alexander et al. (1995) found that diversity of tenure and professional experience in organisational groups led to higher levels of staff turnover, although it is not clearly understood why this phenomenon occurs. Within diverse workforces, there is an increased incidence of stereotyping, conflict and marginalisation of minority groups (Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly, 1992). Milliken and Martins (1996) assert "diversity appears to be a double-edged sword, increasing the opportunity for creativity as well as the likelihood that group members will be dissatisfied and fail to identify with the group" (1996: p.103). Some of the negative effects that have been reported in the available literature include a feeling of devaluation by employees, increased levels of isolation, a

reduction in mobility between different job positions and higher incidences of conflict (Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly; Sanchez and Brock, 1996; Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2006).

Notably, Smith et al. (1994) investigated the role of demographic diversity within senior management teams on organisational performance. Whilst social categorisation theory typically deals with relationships between groups, this study looked specifically at diversity within management teams and sought to establish how heterogeneous senior management teams affected performance outcomes. Drawing on three models, (demographic, process-driven and an intervening model) it was found that heterogeneity had differing impact upon performance depending on the precise composition of the group (Smith et al., 1994). They found that larger teams tended to revert to more formal communication mechanisms which in turn had a negative effect on group cohesion, whereas in smaller groups, demographic diversity was seen to have had a positive impact on creativity within the group (Smith et al., 1994). This research also indicates that specific models need to be developed for diversity within senior management teams (Smith et al., 1994).

Research into the impact of gender diversity within company boards in Norway was conducted by Ahern and Dittmar (2011). They observed the introduction of gender quotas in firm boards, which from 2008 had to include at least 40% female members (op. cit.). Their findings suggested that the firms that demonstrated the greatest increase in female board membership correlated with a reduction in stock valuation and diminished organisational performance (op. cit.).

However, these conclusions may be tempered by the fact that this is potentially a result of the swift introduction of the quota system, rather than any comment on the nature of gender diversity (DBIS, 2013). Once again, the particular context in which

this study took place must be taken into account and renders the results of the investigation somewhat inconclusive.

The apparent contradiction inherent in the literature regarding the advantages of diversity in the workplace may, in part, be explained by methodological differences in many of the studies under consideration. Many of the studies proposing a positive impact on group dynamics as a result of diversity have been undertaken in laboratory conditions (Alagna, et al., 1982; Stasser et al., 1995; Hoffman and Maier, 1961), whereas many of the more problematic aspects are exposed when studied in the organisational context (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). This has prompted further investigation of the ways in which organisational context acts as a significant moderating factor on the consequences of diversity and implies that more fine-grained research is necessary (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). For example, a study by Richard (2000) found that racial diversity strategies were more successful in organisations pursuing a growth strategy as opposed to those who were downsizing (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). Many other studies focus on different aspects of diversity, ranging from overt characteristics such as age, gender or ethnicity, to others that focus on subjective attributes to the exclusion of other factors. This places considerable limits on the extent to which comparison may be drawn between studies.

The confusion inherent in the literature surveyed here means that many managers are rendered uncertain about the benefits that pursuing diversity strategy may bring to their organisation. However, the presence of a diverse workforce is increasingly a basic reality for many organisations, whether they intend to pursue it or not. As a result, the onus must now fall on the creation of effective management strategies that capitalise on the potential benefits of a heterogeneous workforce (DBIS, 2013).

Managers and supervisors are responsible for instilling an organisational culture that explicitly values diversity and ensuring that this is reflected through all aspects of the firm (Elmuti, 2001). Recruitment is a key aspect of this, with a commitment made not only to apply principle of diversity to recruitment strategy, but also to recruit individuals in management positions who will reinforce and perpetuate the organisations diversity strategy.

Many organisations invest significant resources in maximising the productivity of their diverse workforces (Jackson and Joshi, 2004). Despite this, the costs of managing and maintaining a diverse organisation are increasing, with greater awareness and legal imperatives leading to more grievances on the part of the employee and a higher incidence of lawsuits. As such, some efforts have been made to discover methods to ensure that workforce diversity accrues the promised benefits, rather than imposing extra costs (Shore et al., 2009; Sanchez and Brock, 1996; Ongori and Agolla, 2007; Lim and Noriega, 2007). As demonstrated above, the literature elicits fundamental contradictions: despite the promise of a return on investment in relation to diversity strategies, there is no guarantee that such strategies will be effective, and moreover, a high chance that they will result in reduced cohesion and productivity.

It is clear, therefore, that significant ambiguity remains regarding the potential benefits and disadvantages of a diverse workforce, and many managerial challenges remain for organisations seeking to implement a diversity strategy (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, much of the research should be approached with caution, as it is evident that many conclusions cannot be generalised beyond the significant organisational context in which they were made.

This section sought to provide an overview of current approaches to diversity management and survey the highly contested benefits and disadvantages of maintaining a diverse workforce. As Lorbiecki and Jack's (2002) categorisation of key turning points in diversity management demonstrated, the optimism experienced with the advocacy of the business case for diversity throughout the 1990s and early 2000s has been tempered as many issues remain in the implementation of diversity programmes and the promised benefits have not been immediately apparent. Although the benefits of a diverse workforce appear strongly in much of the available literature, many studies report conflicting results and significant drawbacks (Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly, 1992). It may be argued, however, that managing a diverse workforce is not so much an option as an organisational reality, and consequently, appropriate management strategies must be devised.

2.7 Gender diversity and inequality in the context

The study of gender diversity has a long history and is rooted in conceptions of feminist theory, activism and equal opportunities discourses. Sex may be defined as the "biological characteristics that distinguish men and women", whilst gender "refer to socially or culturally constructed between males and females found in meanings, beliefs and practices associated with masculinity and femininity" (Omadjohwoefe, 2011, p.67). This distinction is critical to understand the development of gender studies and to engage with the theoretical literature that underpins the study of gender diversity. Gender role differentiation refers to the process by which roles in society are specified and limited along categories of gender. This aligns with the gender socialisation model, which refers to the narratives, symbols and practices that surround the identification of gender within society (Steinbacher and Holmes, 1978). Social behaviour, established when we are children and perpetuated

throughout our lives, creates a framework that legitimises patriarchy and reinforces entrenched beliefs about the way that women and men ought to behave and be treated (Omadjohwoefe, 2011). Having established these core concepts, this section will provide an assessment of the key theoretical literature concerning gender diversity.

Approaches to gender diversity have tended to draw upon theoretical paradigms such as the similarity-attraction framework, as outlined above (Schreiber, 1979). However, gender diversity research is also rooted in feminist and gender studies theory taken from the social sciences. Conservative approaches to gender tend to be rooted in a functionalist perspective that assumes society is made up of composite parts that interact harmoniously in service of a wider system (Lindsey, 2011). Society will ultimately maintain itself in a 'natural' equilibrium. This theoretical standpoint posits that defined gender roles exist objectively and are necessary in order to maintain this wider equilibrium. Conflict theory, which originally drew on Marxist historical interpretations, instead views gender issues as a conflict between dominant and subordinate groups (Lindsey, 2011). In this view, social order is maintained, but generally at the expense of certain disadvantaged groups within society, which are dominated and exploited by a ruling hegemon in order to attain and retain power within society. For example, Konrad (1987) proposes that diversity can only be understood by looking at the dynamics of power and power relations within society. According to this view, workplace diversity as a concept only crystallised when disadvantaged groups became self aware and started to assert their own claims to power and liberation. Gender diversity, therefore, may be seen as subject to these historical power relations. Equity and fairness in representation between genders at all levels is what gender diversity can be equated. As described

above, gender, along with ethnicity and age, is one of the most frequently studied aspects of diversity addressed by the available literature. In the diversity literature it is often studied as one of several demographic identifiers of diversity within an organisation, however, many studies have also specifically investigated gender (Chengadu and Scheepers, 2016).

Many studies have drawn on feminist's theories to support research demonstrating the issues and challenges faced by gender diversity within the workforce (Pollert, 1985; Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Noah, 2008). **Particularly, liberal feminism seeks to advance individualistic forms of women's freedom, in relation to socioeconomic and political equality with humans. It also aspires to promote women's legal and political rights. The perspective also challenges the presumption that women are inferior to men in society in relation to their physical and intellectual features (Ringrose, 2012). Liberal feminism believes the injustice women suffer in the present society is concentrated on the existing sex-biased laws. Proponents of the theory believe in gender inequality as a product of women's inhibited access to civil rights (Ringrose, 2012).**

Inconsistent results have been found in studies of gender diversity and its positive or negative effect on outcomes (Jackson, et al., 1993). Whilst many researchers have identified negative outcomes, as described above, some studies have also noted higher performance levels from mixed gender groups. Furthermore, despite expectations to the contrary, little correlation has been established between gender diversity and increased levels of conflict (Pelled, 1996). Gender diversity effects were also demonstrated to be moderated by factors such as growth projections or change in inter-personal relationships within the group over time (Dwyer, et al., 2003). In groups that are dominated by one gender, those in the minority become much more

aware of their identity (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Considerable research also shows that differences in gender have different effects on males than on females. Sexist stereotyping was found to be considerably higher in male dominated groups than in female dominated groups (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). Furthermore, men in a female dominated workplace experience less stereotyping and are socially integrated, but are generally less psychologically satisfied (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998). In terms of performance indicators, Linville and Jones (1980) conducted a study where they discovered that out-group members received both extremely positive and extremely negative treatment from evaluators. In contrast, Nieva and Gutek (1980) found that women in male dominated groups were evaluated particularly harshly. It seems, therefore, that just as with the broader research in diversity within the workplace, gender diversity appears to yield mixed outcomes. It is significant to note, however, that gender diversity seems to be more susceptible to the moderating influence of organisational factors such as group composition. Equally, the application of different theoretical approaches may alter results substantially, which indicates that caution should be exercised when attempting to generalise the results of research in this field.

2.7.1 Hotel industry and gender diversity

Hospitality is a fundamental aspect of the tourism industry. Tourism involves the movement of people from outside their place of residence to other parts of the world for reasons of leisure, business or adventure (Brotherton and Wood, 2009). Hospitality is critical to this process, for it provides services such as travel, accommodation or entertainment to meet the needs of travellers (Brotherton and Wood, 2009). By its very nature, therefore, the hospitality industry frequently has to deal with cultural plurality amongst its consumer base, meaning that arguably, the

importance of maintaining a culturally diverse workforce is considerably enhanced. By creating a workforce that may encompass a variety of cultural, demographic and ethnic perspectives, a hospitality organisation that pursues a diversification policy within its workforce has a competitive advantage over other organisations in the industry (Baum et al., 2007). In order to discuss gender diversity in the hotel industry, it's important to understand what the term "hotel" means. Brotherton and Wood (2008) observe a general lack of consensus on what exactly constitutes hotel, with researchers typically relying on positivist, semantic definitions upon which to base their studies. Dictionary definitions that focus on the "friendly and generous reception and accommodation of guest and strangers" (*Oxford Quick Reference Dictionary*, 2014) tend to be simple, prescriptive and pragmatic (Brotherton and Wood, 2008). The hotel is the provision of material and psychological comfort within defined service parameters. Wood (2008) argues definitions of a hotel and the conceptions of the contemporary commercial hotel industry have been conflated. These definitions "continue to exhibit the underlying assumption that hotel is something that is principal, commercially 'created' for consumption" (Brotherton and Wood, 2008, p.39). Hotel research, therefore, has tended to follow relatively narrow and circular definitions of hospitality that focus on a hotel as a commercial product and hospitality management as the administration of that product. This explains a somewhat narrow conceptual focus within hotel research, which situates interpretations within existing ontological paradigms.

It is worth noting that the hotel industry is an outdated term and has been long replaced with the umbrella concept of hospitality (Marten, 2017). This is mainly because the hotel industry has broadened its scope into leisure and tourism. A hotel not only provides accommodation but also now offers catering in its in-house

restaurants, recreational activities in its gymnasiums and tennis courts. A hotel is not just a building but also an enterprising self-contained city ready to provide whatever need or desire you have. The complexity of the workings of this industry is only matched by the complexities in which the standard of service is provided through interactions (Collins, 2012).

Hotels are fundamental aspect of the tourism industry. Tourism involves the movement of people from outside their place of residence to other parts of the world for reasons of leisure, business or adventure (Akobo, 2016). Hospitality is critical to this process, for it provides services such as travel, accommodation or entertainment to meet the needs of customers (Naidu and Chand, 2014). By its very nature, therefore, the hotel industry frequently has to deal with cultural plurality amongst its consumer base, meaning that, arguably, the importance of maintaining a culturally diverse and gender equality workforce is considerably enhanced. By creating a workforce that may encompass a variety of cultural, demographic and ethnic perspectives, a hotel organisation that pursues a diversification policy within its workforce has a competitive advantage over other organisations in the industry (Naidu and Chand, 2014).

Gender diversity has been a particular concern within the hotel industry for many years (Pinar et al., 2009). Although women's status has improved within the hotel industry as a result of equal opportunities legislation, adult females are still underrepresented in managerial positions (Pinar et al., 2009). Interestingly, women dominate the hospitality sector in countries such as the U.K. And U.S., but this representation is overwhelmingly centered on low paid, junior or temporary roles (Purcell, 1996).

Gender role stereotyping is reinforced within the hotel industry, where specified gender roles are deeply entrenched within the system, which leads to women being excluded from management positions (Civre, et al 2013). These stereotypes are particularly hard to break down within the hotel sector, meaning that women are typically confined to low-level positions with no real opportunity for upward mobility. This discrimination also prohibits women from seeking senior positions in hospitality management, meaning that many female employees tend to treat their employment as a job, rather than an evolving career opportunity (Civre, et al 2013). Keys studies in gender discrimination in the hotel industry have identified a serious wage gap between men and women (Campos, et al 2009). Sparrowe and Iverson (1999) conducted an in-depth empirical study into discrimination in the hospitality industry covering a random sample that made up 1% of the hospitality employees in the U.S, arguing that previous studies had focused only on small unrepresentative samples. They conducted a study on the effects of education and workforce participation among hospitality industry employees and found that gender discrimination was still a significant issue (Sparrowe and Iverson, 1999). Thrane (2008) in a study of the Norwegian hospitality industry also attempted to investigate the significance of educational background, work experience and other variables in determining income. The study found that women were severely disadvantaged, earning on average 20% less than their male counterparts. Once again, the study also noted that there were fewer women in managerial positions and attributed this as a potential cause of the disparity. In contrast to some of this research, Kattara (2005) identified characteristics such as age, work experience and work-family conflict as being particularly influential in preventing female employees from entering management in the hotel industry in Egypt.

Another significant area of research in gender discrimination within the hotel sector focused on recruitment and opportunity. The results here are slightly less conclusive and appear to be moderated by a variety of factors. Many of these studies are rooted in similarity/attraction theoretical paradigms, which would suggest that recruiters favor those of the same gender when hiring and evaluating applicants. However, Gallois et al., 1992 found that gender similarity was not a factor in determining suitability for the job position. Graves and Powell (1988) found that perceived similarity was particularly important in determining recruiter's selection and evaluation of candidates. Graves and Powell (1995) conducted a further study that confirmed that the similarity did have an effect on perceptions of the applicant's suitability for the position. Interestingly, the female recruiters exhibited a preference for male candidates as they believed they had better qualification and more competent. In contrast, there were no significant effects of gender on the recruitment process. The similarity-attraction paradigm has also been used to support literature investigating the relationship between employee and consumer. This is based on the assumption that consumers have greater confidence in staff that are similar to them, leading to a better customer/employee rapport and trust. The similarity between salespersons and customers correlates with sales performance. However, other studies have found that this relationship is non-existent or considerably limited.

Issues of social mobility were also identified by Manwa and Black (2002) who investigated upward mobility for women in Zimbabwean banks and hotels. Following Kanter's (1977) analysis of western managerial ethos, they argue that patriarchal management approaches, coupled with cultural beliefs in Zimbabwe combine to stifle female mobility within the hospitality industry (Manwa and Black, 2002). Corroborating previous research, they conclude that female representation in senior

management is very low and attribute this to low levels of female job mobility (Manwa and Black, 2002).

Pinar et al. (2009) also note the existence of invisible social barriers in developing countries such as Turkey. These could be due to wider stereotyping in society, beliefs surrounding motherhood and family spheres, and wider discrimination (Pinar et al., 2009). In the hotel, work tends to involve seasonal fluctuation, long working hours and a high degree of mobility, which can mean that women are often excluded (Pinar et al., 2009).

It should be noted that gender discrimination alone does not always account for these disparities in female income within the hotel sector (Pinar et al., 2009). Rather, a variety of factors such as race, ethnicity and class may contribute to the way women are disadvantaged in the hotel (Adib, 2003). The results of empirical research into the gender diversity within the workplace, however, tend to yield contradictory conclusions. The effects of gender diversity appear to be moderated by several factors and are highly sensitive to context, group composition and running environment. A systematic review of the mainstream literature on diversity management in the hospitality industry by Manoharana & Singal (2017) suggests that evidence in the field is both fragmented and inconsistent. Manoharan & Singal (2017) note that the findings of existing studies on diversity are mixed. This suggests a need for more studies that are context-specific to identify what works for each society in the promotion of gender diversity. From their systematic review of the literature on diversity in the hotel industry, Manoharan & Singal (2017) note that industries tend to differ in terms of product and service, employee characteristics, skills, hotel policies, and government regulation, which have implications for both gender diversity practice and outcomes (Singal, 2015). Gender diversity appears to

yield mixed outcomes in the hotel industry. The application of different theoretical approaches may alter results substantially, which indicates that caution should be exercised when attempting to generalize the results of research in this field. As discussed in the next chapter, discrimination against women within the Nigerian context cannot simply be understood as a problem concerning gender alone, but is rather the product of a complex process whereby issues of ethnicity, class, religion and lack of political inclusion are brought to bear upon individual subjective identities.

2.8 Conclusion and Areas for Further Research

This chapter has surveyed a large amount of literature drawn from many different fields to provide the appropriate theoretical, conceptual, methodological and empirical foundations on which this investigation rests. The review shows that gender inequality runs deep across the world and various efforts and claims about closing gender gap at the workplaces seems to be very limited, partly because of 'limited sincerity' on the side of the promoters and partly because the root causes may have not been well identified and as well appropriate strategies may not have been designed or applied. While gender forms a significant focal point within the diversity literature, in part due to its early significance in equal opportunities discourses, bolstered by feminist activism, in practice, gender inequality remains pervasive. Uniformity is lacking in the available evidence on the impact of gender diversity in the workplace. To some extent, there is agreement in some literatures about the contribution of female managers and how they impact on the business outcomes, but others also suggest that their presence simply reflect a tokenistic tendency. Some of the women in senior positions lack the real power and freedom to lead female oriented changes (Stromquist,1995; Al-kayed, 2015; Choge, 2015). In

Nigeria, while diverse gender policies have been promulgated, in practice, little is known about their impact; gender discrimination at various levels has not significantly changed over the years beyond mere political and institutional 'decorations'.

A gender diverse workforces appeal to a broader consumer base and can lead to an increase in innovation and creativity. The Nigerian hotel industry, despite considerable government attention in recent years, is significantly underdeveloped and has the potential to provide a key source of revenue for the state and country as a whole. However, deficiencies in management training, infrastructure and policy are stifling development within the industry. This needs to be addressed if Nigeria is to exploit the benefits of tourism and hotels fully. Much more research needs to be undertaken to paint a comprehensive picture of the ways in which these challenges can be surmounted in a Nigerian context.

Theoretical explorations of the various aspect of diversity have been extensively embarked on by scholars over the years, limited progress has been made in practice (Abrahamson, 1996; Curseu, 2006). In this regard, a shift in the mainstream theoretical frameworks employed in diversity discussions is recommended. This study represents such a shift: theories that are directly related to psychosocial and economic fields are employed.

One of the strongest themes to emerge from the scholarship on diversity is a distinct lack of a coherent, standardised definition of what diversity means within organisational workforces. Much of the literature is divided between broad and narrow definitions of diversity, which has compounded confusion regarding the specific effects and benefits of diverse workforces. Whilst it is unrealistic to suggest

that one standardised definition of diversity ought to be used in future research, new additions to this field need to make explicit their world view and the kind of diversity they hope to investigate, in order to allow conclusions to be drawn and their work to be sufficiently related to other research. The overwhelming quantity of literature on the subject has yielded a vast corpus of empirical research but very little in the way of confident conclusions. Similarly, methodological approaches have been shown to have a particularly significant effect on results, which has also contributed to the confusion and lack of consensus regarding the nature of diverse workforces. For example, contextual versus laboratory studies often appear to show contradictory results, and this needs to be highlighted and investigated further (Locke, 2001).

Also, although this field has a strong grounding in theoretical approaches and frameworks, more specific research is required to continue to shed light on behaviour within diverse groups. In particular, a better understanding of the way in which the distribution of power within society is negotiated in social interactions and can affect issues in group performance and behaviour is necessary. Regarding gender diversity, more attention needs to be paid to differences in group composition, as this is seen to have a significant effect on the results. Male-dominated groups elicit different observations than female-dominated groups, and consequently, this needs to be carefully isolated and explained through further study. Within the hotel industry, there is considerable room for the development of our understanding of the way in which gender diversity impacts upon hotel workforces. In particular, the critical effects equality has on staff turnover, stress and well-being are important to understanding, given their significance within the industry. Furthermore, the literature needs to be consolidated to provide managers and educators with the

appropriate tools to prepare themselves to enhance gender equality in the hotel industry adequately; a fruitful avenue of enquiry may also be the intersection of workforce diversity and consumer relations.

Besides, while a large body of work exists relating to diversity, gender issues and the hotel industry, a very narrow range (aside from gender studies) has been applied in the context of developing countries. In the case of Nigeria, due to its unique ethnic and cultural composition, models, frameworks and perceptions developed in a predominately western context do not necessarily apply. Consequently, there is considerable scope for research into diversity issues within the Nigerian workforce and a need for intersectional studies. A more interesting avenue for research might be to investigate the social, political and cultural context more carefully by conducting exploratory studies that aim to uncover existing power structures within Nigerian society. In the following chapter, the context of the research is discussed.

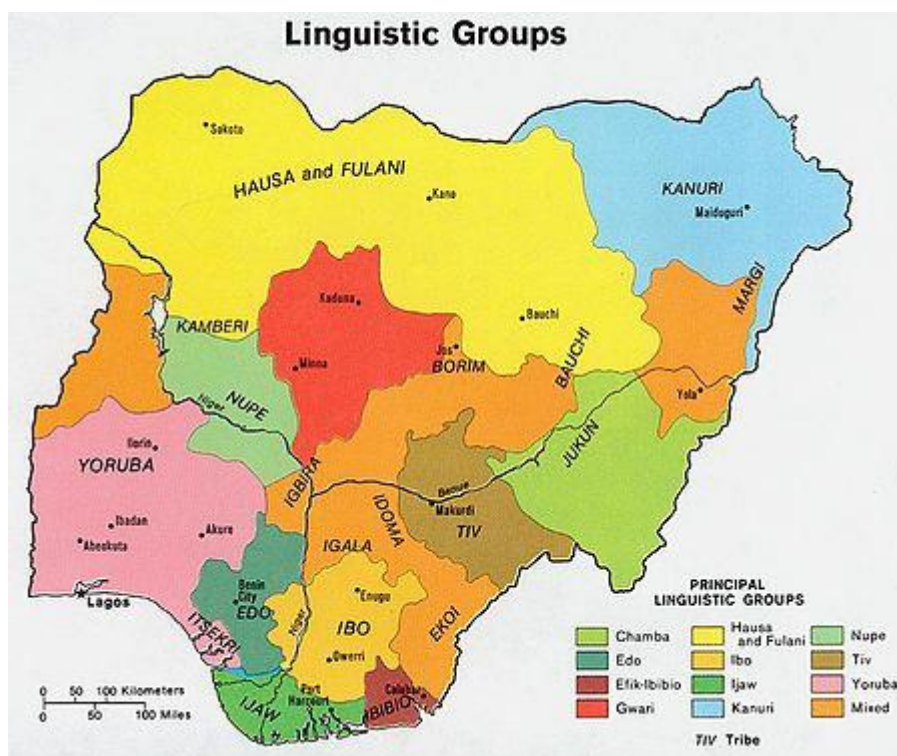
CHAPTER THREE: SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

3.1 Research setting - Nigeria

This section summarises the characteristics of the study states (Imo, Kaduna and Lagos states) in Nigeria. Before doing so, it is pertinent to note that these locations have been selected because they reflect the sociocultural diversity of Nigeria and provide an opportunity to highlight predominant gender practices in both traditional societies and labour market (with particular attention to the hotel industry) that contribute to affect women's work-life balance. The study context helps to highlight particular features of the study locations because Nigeria is an exceptionally diverse society, encompassing a vast geographical area. It is a country of over 400 diverse ethnic groups, customs, traditions and languages and, has a population of 180 million and is rich in both natural and human resources (Fajana et al., 2011; Dooga, 2012; Lunn and Harari, 2015; Morakinyo, 2015; Okeke, 2016). The modern state of Nigeria was established in the post-colonial period, after receiving independence from the British Colonial administration in 1960 (Suberu, 2001). In 1963, it was declared as the Federal Republic, and considerable efforts were made to federalise the country's government and institutions, creating a system where the various ethnic groups could have an equal stake in government (Suberu, 2001). Nigeria is, therefore, a multi-ethnic, multi-national state, and is recognised as one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world (Suberu, 2001). According to Lunn and Harari (2015), Nigeria is the most ethnically diverse country in Africa. "The largest groups are: Hausa-Fulani at an estimated 29% of the population, Yoruba at 21%, Igbo (also described as Ibo) at 18%, Ijaw at 10%, Kanuri at 4%, Ibibio at 3.5%, and Tiv at 2.5%" (Lunn and Harari, 2015: 45). The three largest groups (Hausa, Igbo and

Yoruba), were chosen for this study (see Figure 2). Each of the three major groups is briefly discussed below to provide further background information on the study's context and factors that shaped the respondents' perspectives in each of these ethnolinguistic zones. Hausa (or Hausa-Fulani), largely dominates the northern parts of the country while Igbo and Yoruba dominate the southeast and southwest respectively. Hausa locations are predominately Muslim, Igbo are largely Christian, and Yoruba group consists of Christians, Muslims and local traditional religious populations. However, although these distinctions are commonly employed in the discussion of Nigeria's politics and political division, they mask an incredibly complex, fluid ethnic composition.

Figure 2 Ethnic Map of Nigeria (study locations marked with yellow, pink and brown colors)



Source: Ishaku et al. (2011).

As regards gender practices in the country, generally, the dominant traditional and work-related cultural values may be classified as masculine, with control, power, and competition taking precedence over job satisfaction and interpersonal relationships. The traditional male dominance positions in authority and power hierarchies which exert a profound cultural influence on females are rarely questioned (Gbadamosi, 2004; Omadjohwoefe, 2011). Besides, the country's mainstream social structure is characterised more by collectivism than individualism, with people more inclined to act as part of a group, build relationships based on trust and this group action is also male-dominated (Owoyemi et al., 2011). Also, a rising poverty level in Nigeria is affecting women significantly, as they make up 60-79% of the rural workforce, in addition to leading to social conflict and violence which traditionally has significant ramifications for women (British Council, 2012). Although large numbers of women work in rural occupations, men are five times more likely to own the land and benefit economically from it (British Council, 2012). Women in Nigeria earn significantly less than their male counterparts (British Council, 2012). The 2016/2017 Multiple Cluster Indicator Survey (MICS) shows that percentage of young people age 15-24 years that can read a short and straightforward sentence about daily life or have attended a minimum of secondary school stood at 59.3% for women and 70.9 for men (National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and UNICEF) (2017). The 2013 National Demographic and education Health Survey shows that 38% of women (and 21% of men) age 15-49 had no formal education (National Population Commission and ICF International, 2014). Besides, the relatively low female literacy rate, early marriage constitutes a severe obstacle to women. While 0% of males aged 15-19 were married (or in a union), 22.2% of women were already married at the same age, and 44.1% were already married at 18 years old (only 6.0% males are married at the

same age). Additional information on employment and gender relations are discussed in section 1.3

In the following subsections, further details about the states and regional locations selected for this study are presented.

3.2 Kaduna - Hausa-Fulani (Northern Nigeria)

Data was collected in Kaduna, the capital of Kaduna State, in the North West of Nigeria. Kaduna State is a key industrial northern state (PLCNG, 2015). Northern Nigeria largely dominated by Hausa and Fulani (Hausa-Fulani) ethnic group. However, the region is also populated by various other ethnic groups (see Figure 2 above). Also, while Hausa and Fulani are often combined as the dominant group in the northern Nigeria (covering North Central, North East and North West), they are distinct cultural groups that are united by Islam and its traditional leadership and local practices. It has been noted PLCNG, that there is no homogenous northern Nigeria. However, due to their shared development pattern, they are often discussed as though they are (Unterhalter et al., 2017); and a similar approach is therefore also taken in this study. It is recognized that treating the region as a homogenous one might overlook some political and socio-economic issues within the states. However, since this study focuses on intersectionalities of gender and culture, it becomes useful to discuss the north as a single cultural zone.

Hausa society historically had walled city-states, while Fulani were pastoral and nomadic. Around 1804–10, Fulani spread Islam in many northern Nigerian locations and established the Sokoto Caliphate. Islamic values largely dominate the current Hausa-Fulani culture. Segregation of sexes (purdah) is largely noticed in Hausa-Fulani environments. Mahdi (2009, p.3) observes a

widespread “tendency for men to be brazen towards women who did not wear the hijab and outright hostility towards teenage girls and women who did not wear any veil at all”. Sex segregation begins early, and male-female interaction is restricted outside the home. Physical contact between opposite sexes outside the households’ members, such as handshakes and eye contact, are considered inappropriate. There is a very strict restriction on female body, movement and association. (Zakaria, 2001; Lewis and Lockheed, 2006). Sanderson (1975) explains that Muslim traditions establish some limits on what women can do and be in Northern Nigeria and Hausa women have imbibed these as their expression of Muslim identity.

According to UNDP (2015, p.19), the “top five most deprived states were all located in the north”. The Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measures inequality between males and females in the society in the areas of health, empowerment and the labour market, was observed to be highest in the northern part of the country, with the North-West recording 0.774 (UNDP, 2015). The proportion of the Nigerian population in the topmost wealth quintile located in the North East was 3%, while 8% and 14% were in the North West and in North Central. The population at the lowest wealth quintile found in the North East was 47% while 32% and 21% were in the North West and North Central respectively. The percentage of married women that make personal and independent decisions on their finances, according to UNDP (2015), was 46.1% in the North Central, 71.9% in the North East and 86.3% in the North West. The Zones had the lowest in joint decision with their husband: 32.9% in the North Central, 9.9% in the North East and 3.3% in the North West. While details were

lacking on female earnings, UNFPA report notes that the North West had the lowest percentage (2%) of women that earned more than their husbands (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA 2013). Information from the 2008 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) shows that the median age for women at first marriage in the North West stood at 15.2 years while the median age at first sexual intercourse was 15.4. The 2011 multiple indicator survey shows that up to 52% of young women aged 15-19 were married in the North West (NPC and RTI, 2011). The 2008 NDHS report also reveals that the North East had the highest percentage of (43%) of married women in a polygynous union. It was 42% and 37% in North West and North Central respectively. The North East had the lowest total family planning unmet need, which stood at 17.6%. The North West has the largest proportion of women age 15-19 that have begun childbearing (45%). In the North West only 8% of women had institutional deliveries, which was the lowest in the country. North West had the lowest percentage (10%) of women that experienced emotional violence from their husband or partner while North East had 15%. At the same time, women in North West are the least likely to seek assistance towards ending violence against them (24%) (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). Information from the 2011 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey shows that about 49% and 50% of women in the Northwest respectively believe that their husband or partner has liberty to hit or beat them for at least one out of numerous reasons. It was also observed that women in the Northwest are more likely to support the continued practice of female genital mutilation than women in other geopolitical zones (NPC and RTI, 2011; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA 2013).

The NDHS report by the NPC and ICF Macro (2009) shows that the North West has the lowest primary net attendance ratio of education (NAR) and gross attendance ratio (GAR) (43% and 59% respectively) in the whole of Nigeria. The NDHS report also shows that, at the secondary school level, the North East has the lowest NAR (26%) and GAR (39%) in Nigeria. The North West recorded the lowest Gender Parity Index (GPI) in Nigeria with 0.72 at primary level and 0.52 at secondary level. 35%, 17% and 24% of young Muslim youth aged 4–16 in the North East, North Central and North West respectively were not enrolled in school. Only 22% of women age 15–49 in the North West can read. About 32%, 37% and 65% of females aged 15 to 24 in North West, North East, and North Central are literate (NPC and RTI, 2011; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA 2013). Afri-Dev Info (2015) data show that 62.8% of females in the North West and 61.1% of females in North East had no education. The North Central had a relatively better record in the whole of northern Nigeria, with 38.0% of females having no education. However, the worst statistic was the South East with 18.7% of females without education.

In this study, data was collected only in the northwest, which represents the most economically and educated northern Nigeria zones. Thus, it is possible that this is reflected in the respondent's views, which may not highlight the values and practices in the far north of the country.

3.3 Imo - Igbo (South East Nigeria)

The Igbo data were collected in Owerri, the capital of Imo State. The state is one of five in the Southeast geopolitical zones. The ancestral home of the Igbo people in Nigeria is located in the Southeast geopolitical zone and some parts of Bayelsa, Delta, Cross-Rivers and Rivers States. Available information

suggests that the geographical location is called Igbo-land (Stride and Ifeka, and Ezegwu, 2011). According to Stride and Ifeka (1969: 347) “The Igbo were organised in a vast number of relatively small and independent villages. On account of their larger sizes, Igbo villages were often arranged into groups: they formed a village group”. There were also several centralised chieftaincy and kingship customs such as Arochukwu, Agbor, Nri and Onitsha (Miers and Roberts, 1988; Ezegwu, 2011). The British colonial administration merged these groups and incorporated them in Nigeria.

The social and political structure of Igbo is largely republicanism. Igbo are largely patrilocal and patriarchal. Males who, in the Igbo society, enjoy full rights to take part in political, social and economic activities largely inherit household properties. Females can inherit properties from their mothers but use farmlands of their husbands for planting of cocoyam, maize and cassava. Adult males coordinate decision making at household and community levels with limited female participation in the contemporary Igbo. In the pre-colonial era, females played very active roles in political and household decision-making processes (Jaja and Agumagu, 2008; Ukpokolo, 2010). Women were very independent during this period; they played a massive role in the provision of crops, livestock and other natural food resources for the family. They were defined by their works and ability to provide for their family; this gave the women access to social representation and power (Babatuder, 2014).

The contemporary Igbo way of life has been largely dominated by Christianity and colonialism. When Christianity arrived in Nigeria in the early 1840s, firstly in the Southwest, it made inroads into the eastern parts of the country. The Igbos extensively embraced Christianity and, by extension, the British way of life

because most missionaries were British. After the British colonial forces invaded eastern Nigeria, they used “indirect rule” which assigned regional rulers who enforced their local rule in running the Igbo land (Abdulraheem, 2013). The British appointed mostly male political leaders to implement rules. This caused a rift between the previous equality values in Igbo land. Male-child preference has been historically high. In a study by Ohagwu et al (2014) with Igbo pregnant women, it was observed that more than half (58.6%) of the participants preferred male babies in their first pregnancies. One of the predominant reasons for the preference was the desire to protect their marriages and to bolster position in their households through the birth of a male child. Male children are also a necessary condition for preserving the woman’s place in the case of the death of the husband. While it appears not to be a legal situation, available studies show that when a man dies, his kinsmen tend to take over his properties, especially if he died without a male child (Nwokocha, 2007; Nwoko, 2012; Chukwu et al. 2014).

Information from the 2008 National Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) shows that the median age of women at first marriage in the South East was 22.8 years, while the median age at first sexual intercourse was 20.4. The total family planning unmet need in the South East zone was 18.1%. The percentage of women aged 15-19 that has started childbearing in the South East was 8%. Across Nigeria, the south East had the highest proportion of women (74%) delivering babies in health institutions. 12% of divorced, widowed or separated women experienced sexual violence in the South East, while 8% of women are likely to experience violence during pregnancy. 16% of women reported having

experienced emotional violence from their husband or partner. 51% of Igbo women reported experiencing female genital mutilation and it was believed to promote sexual chastity and enhance marriage prospects (NPC and ICF Macro (2009). Information from the 2011 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey shows that 42% of women in the South East believe that their husband or partner has the liberty to hit or beat them for at least one out of a number of reasons. The report also shows that up to 3% of young women aged 15-19 were married in the South East (NPC and RTI, 2011; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA 2013).

Female participation in education and the literacy rate are generally high in the South East zone. The NDHS report by the NPC and ICF Macro (2009) shows that the South East primary net attendance ratio (NAR) and gross attendance ratio (GAR) are highest in Nigeria (83% and 110%, respectively). At the secondary level South East, together with the South West, has the highest NAR (69%). GAR stood at 94.6%. Gender Parity Index (GPI) stood at 1.01 and 0.93 at primary and secondary school levels respectively. Up to 82% of women in the South East are able to read. 91% of females aged 15 to 24 in South East zone is literate (NPC and RTI, 2011; NBS, UNICEF and UNFPA 2013).

Igbo women are historically active and have been playing critical roles in agriculture and trading (Okeke-Ihejirika, 2004; Nzegwu, 2006; Ejikeme, 2012; Chukwu, 2015). Information from the 2008 NDHS shows that the South East zone had the highest percentage (9%) of women that earned more than their husband. The percentage of married women that make personal and independent decisions on their finances was 27% in the South East. At the

same time, the zone had the highest percentage of married women (39%) that made joint decision-making with their husbands on their earnings, with 33% having their husbands influencing how their earning should be used. The South East and South West had the highest percentage (26%) of Nigeria's population located in the highest wealth quintile. Those in the lower quintile were 5% (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). Based on the UNDP (2015) report, the Gender Inequality Index (GII) was lowest in the South East (0.397). These demographic indicators, especially the status of women, reflected in women's position in the society and influenced respondents' views about themselves in eastern Nigeria.

3.4 Lagos - Yoruba (South West Nigeria)

Lagos, which is both a metropolitan city and the capital of Lagos state, was the location of the hotel where data was collected from the South West of Nigeria. The geopolitical zone is largely a Yoruba ethnic zone but Lagos has an exceptional character. The state is the smallest State in Nigeria by geographical size but has one of the highest populations in the country. The National Population Commission estimates the population to be over 21 million in 2016. The City was originally occupied by the Yoruba group of Awori but has continuously experienced heavy migration and is currently populated by over 250 ethnic groups from across Nigeria and beyond¹. It was among the ten fastest growing cities in the world. Lagos' Internally generated revenue (IGR), which is derived largely from taxes was \$1.3 billion in 2015, which is highest in the country. The state's economy is rated as 7th largest in Africa, which is larger than Africa's two most promising economies - Cote d'Ivoire and Kenya (Kazeem, 2016; Ifesanya, 2017; Punch, 2017). Although Lagos is a southwestern state, it may not truly represent Yoruba culture. It is one of the

¹ See <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/lagos-population/>

country's foremost cosmopolitan cities. Typical Yoruba culture is closer to Igbo's than Hausas. Christianity has primarily influenced both Igbo and Yoruba cultures. In both cultures, males and females perform different roles that are culturally assigned; male and female, as husband and wife, are seen as complementary to each other (Alaba, 2004; Ezegwu, 2011). According to Alaba (2004, p.5), "in married life, it was the duty of the woman to do all the work connected with the household other than carrying out repairs to the walls and roof of their house". The 2008 NDHS shows that the proportion of South West women sexually active in the four weeks preceding the survey was 46.7%. The unmet need for family planning in the South West was 19.7%. The report also shows that 26.1% of married women in the South West were in a polygynous union. The percentage of women aged 15-19 who have started childbearing in the South West was 9%. Up to 70% of women delivered their babies in health institutions. Information is not available on the percentage of women that earned more than their husband. Only 3% of divorced, widowed or separated women experienced sexual violence while 3.9% of women are likely to encounter abuse during pregnancy. 58% of Yoruba suffered female genital mutilation, which was believed to promote sexual chastity and enhance marriage prospects (NPC and ICF Macro, 2009). A critical characteristic of the Yoruba location is its metropolitan nature. While it is still considered a Yoruba state, in this study, respondent's views appear to have been primarily influenced by the Lagos metropolitan background rather than the core Yoruba background. The implication of this location is that while it was not considered initially during study site selection process or data collection and, to some extent, it appeared to have influenced the nature of data collected.

3.5 Hospitality and Tourism in Nigeria

The hospitality industry in Nigeria is vast, complex and in the process of considerable development (Abomeh, 2012). Unlike neighbouring countries in the region, Nigeria has been relatively slow to exploit its vast range of historical, cultural and geographical resources within the tourism sector and has made little effort until recently to attract more visitors to its shores (Abomeh, 2012). Abomeh (2012) has investigated the importance of workforce training and education in supporting the hospitality industry and noted a considerable lack of investment regarding quality employees and training. Many of Nigeria's universities and higher education institutions fail to produce graduates with adequate training, experience and skills to bolster the Nigerian tourist industry to enable it to compete at a regional or global scale (Idehan, 2007).

Although hospitality in Nigeria has evolved considerably over the past century, development stagnated under the long periods of military rule in the post-colonial period (Abomeh, 2012). Since independence, the hospitality industry in Nigeria has been characterised by a high degree of state control, with government-sponsored bodies taking control of all official hospitality institutions. The Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) is responsible for all hospitality institutions, and any new hotel or guesthouse must register with them to receive a licence to operate. Part of the reason for this high level of state control is due to the importance of the hospitality industry to Nigeria's economy, and its potential for future development. Tourism is particularly significant for Nigeria. Nigeria is richly endowed with natural, cultural and geographical resources and as such, the government, is seeking to exploit these assets through the development of Nigerian tourism industry (Abomeh, 2012). The many advantages of tourism in Nigeria: it is a key source of employment,

a training ground for entrepreneurs and hospitality managers and contributes to poverty reduction in Nigeria. Abomeh (2012), however, identified several problems in the Nigerian tourism industry. These included: a lack of stakeholder belief in education, effect of culture, insufficient manpower, inadequate facilities for training, and insufficient funds for training. Lack of data has remained a clog on the wheel of progress for the research study in Nigeria. Neither the National Bureau of Statistics nor the Nigerian Tourism Development Corporation website has relevant information on hotels in each of the study locations. The absence of proper data record and management is described as one issue undermining economic and social development in Nigeria (Alaba, 2004). According to Alaba, without the right statistics, to make informed decisions across business and industry is totally impossible. Lack of comprehensive and harmonised data for monitoring targets contributed in denying Nigeria most of the millennium development goals in 2015. Available information indicates that Lagos and Federal Capital Territory of Abuja are more developed than the rest of the country. The state is relatively small but remains the richest in the country (Adepoju, 2014). These contributed to help advance hotel industry in the state. Kaduna's hotel system is less developed like Lagos (Adepoju, 2014). Very little information is provided about the hotel industry in the state. Adepoju claims that Owerri, the Imo state capital, has some unique characteristic of a leisure-driven market but notes that the city attracts substantial weekend visitors that mostly made up of indigenes that are resident from different parts of Nigeria as well as nonindigenous visitors. The hotel business is mainly in high demand during festive periods like Christmas in Imo state. Adepoju maintains that the continued improvement on infrastructural facilities like good road networks, security and air

transport in Owerri constitute excellent opportunities for the hotel industry in the state (Adepoju, 2014).

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the research context, supplying a comprehensive discussion of the choices made as part of the field, which permitted an in-depth understanding of the different culture and different geographical zones in Nigeria.

As demonstrated above, Nigeria's ethnic, and political composition has presented significant challenges, particularly with respect to human resource and gender diversity management in Nigerian hotel industry. Human resource management in Nigeria has been characterised by an "over-reliance on culture, language, religion, gender and educational qualifications to determine who gets employed" (Fajana, et al., 2011). Despite the abundance of human resources within the country, finding high performing female employees has proved difficult for many organisation (Fajana, et al., 2011). Recruitment practice in Nigeria is subject to the 1999 Federal Charter of Nigeria, which stipulates that no particular ethnic group should dominate in governmental or national organisations. The impact of national diversity legislation has meant that recruiters are obliged to promote equal opportunities and recruit an ethnically diverse workforce. However, in practice, this rarely happens effectively. Frequently, personal interests obscure recruitment practice, meaning that nepotism prevails and ethnic and social class remain significant issue with in the three geographical zones in Nigeria, particularly in managerial recruitment (Fajana, 2009).

Much of the focus is currently on providing effective human resource management training to allow recruiters to source talent appropriately. This requires a hybrid approach that learns from the best of Western human resource management

strategies but applies them within the Nigerian context, with a modicum of cultural sensitivity and a clear understanding of the political situation in Nigeria (Azolukwam and Perkins, 2009). One of the most significant challenges within the Nigerian workforce is the establishment of gender equality practices. Gender discrimination is a significant problem within Nigeria, with very few women occupying senior management positions (Adekeye, 2008).

In order for workplace gender diversity strategies to be adopted effectively within a Nigerian context, a more detailed understanding of the challenges facing human resource managers within the country needs to be established. Very little research exists which analyses Nigeria's ethnic, cultural and religious communities within a hotel workplace context. The impact of such identities, coupled with the cultural norms of organisational practice within Nigeria need to be more fully investigated before effective management strategies may be created which are applicable in a Nigerian context. Finally, it should not be assumed that conclusions drawn from research conducted primarily in a western context might be applied wholesale to the Nigerian workforce. Although the research will undoubtedly inform strategies within Nigeria, they should be utilised with caution. The next chapter discusses the methodology of the field.

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CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a full description and rationale for the methodological choices made for the research. As demonstrated in the earlier chapters, research in gender diversity management incorporates a variety of methods, theories and concepts from different social science fields, depending on the aims, purpose and scope of the investigations (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Buhrmann, 2013; Machold et al., 2013).

This particular research deals with a variety of social interactions, cultural constructs and identities, and therefore a plurality of perspectives has been taken into consideration to engage with the research problem adequately. In this regard, approaches and research frameworks that engage with the dynamic, fluid and complex identity politics that characterise the various geopolitical zones of Nigeria have been chosen. In order to answer key questions, the research framework takes into account the particular cultural contexts in which the investigation is situated.

This study also addresses the recent legislative efforts to inculcate a culture of equal opportunities in Nigerian, consider why such efforts have had limited success, and evaluate the challenges posed to managers and workers in the hotel industry by issues of religion and culture. Consequently, this study deals with a variety of social and political interactions, cultural constructs, power relations and identities, which resulted in the accommodation of a plurality of perspectives in order to adequately engage with the research problem.

In addition to the complex nature of the research problem, there is little precedent for a study of this kind in Nigerian organisations, as illustrated by the literature review (Tiemo and Arubayi, 2012). One note of caution emerging from the existing literature

is that traditional Human Resources (HR) management approaches have typically been grafted onto Nigerian organisations taking little account of the particular cultural and social contexts in which such practices must exist (Tiemo and Arubayi; 2012; Fajana et al., 2011). This constitutes both an acknowledgement of the subjective, complex and fluid nature of research into issues of identity, culture and religion, and also an effort to ensure that the concepts, theories and world-view brought to bear on the investigation are not prescriptive.

The following section develop this rationale for the research philosophy (ontology, epistemology and methodology approach) while section three details the overall research framework, presenting an overview of qualitative research and its Constructivist orientation, providing a full rationale for the choices made to adopt this framework. Section presents the data collection methods used in the data collection and analysis, identifying the hotels and respondents, interviews timings and the participants. The data analysis methods will be further described in Section five. Section six will discuss ethical considerations arising from the research. Section seven discusses the conclusion and addresses the potential limitations of such an approach; it also considers ways in which it might be improved or complemented.

4.2 Methodological Orientation

This section provides a full description and rationale for the methodological choices made for the purpose of the research. As demonstrated in the earlier chapters, research in gender diversity management incorporates a variety of methods, theories and concepts from different social science fields, depending on the aims, purpose and scope of the investigations (Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Buhrmann, 2013;

Machold et al., 2013). This particular research deals with a variety of social interactions, cultural constructs and identities, and therefore a plurality of perspectives has been taken into consideration to engage with the research problem adequately. In this regard, approaches and research frameworks that will sufficiently engage with the dynamic, fluid and complex identity politics that characterise the various geopolitical zones of Nigeria is required.

Before furthering the discussion on the study's methodology, it is pertinent to discuss the research design. Kerlinge (1986, p.279) explains that:

“Research design is the plan and structure of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions. The plan is the overall scheme or program of the research. It includes an outline of what the investigator will do from writing hypotheses and their operational implications to the final analysis of data. A structure is the framework, organisation, or configuration of ... the relations among variables of a study. A research design expresses both the structure of the research problem and the plan of investigation used to obtain empirical evidence on relations of the problem.”

Phillips (1971, p.93) believes that research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection measurement and analysis of data” the research design helps to outline the structure of the study and helps in presenting the logical proof regarding relation among variables under investigation (Bell, 2007). The research design mostly involves selection of methods, data collection, data analysis and the interpretation of data. There are two main research paradigms, the qualitative and the quantitative. Qualitative and quantitative research archetypes are differentiated by epistemology, ontology and methodology dimensions (Gill, 2004). The ontological and epistemological positional ties are key foundations upon which researchers build

their investigations, which also influence the methodology, method and general approach of their' studies. Epistemology is an aspect of philosophy that aims to understand the scope of knowledge and nature. It also aims to understand how knowledge is developed (Tadajewski, 2004). Ontology on the other hand, refers to the perception of reality. The reality can be objective to humans or it can be created by the researcher's perception (Burrell, 1979). Ontology and epistemology help in determining the research activities for developing knowledge. It helps in determining the question that needs to be addressed and in what order to enhance knowledge (Ding and Foo, 2002). According to Krauss (2005, p.758)

“Epistemology is intimately related to ontology and methodology. Ontology involves the philosophy of reality while epistemology addresses how we come to know that reality while methodology identifies the particular practices used to attain knowledge of reality”.

An epistemology provides a philosophical ground for choosing what sort of knowledge is obtainable and how to ensure that such knowledge is both adequate and legitimate (Maynard, 1994; Crotty, 199). Objectivist epistemology is based on the belief that meaning and meaningful reality exist independent of our consciousness and may be learnt through an objective inquiry. On the other hand, ontology rejects this view and holds that no meaning exists outside the human mind. What may be held as truth or meaning is not to be discovered but come into existence as people engage with the realities of their environment. Thus, they are constructed, and this construction may differ among different people and location as people tend to construct the meaning of the same phenomenon in diverse ways (Crotty, 1998). The study is interested in understanding the social world as experienced and interpreted by members of the socio-cultural groups under study on

gender diversity and work-life balance in the hotel industry (see Grix, 2004). In line with its belief that social realities are not rigidly fixed but are experienced and interpreted, interpretivism studies set out to unravel what, how and why such realities have been experienced and interpreted by a particular group (Berger and Luckmann, 1969; Burr, 1995). Interpretivism holds that knowledge is developed through experiences rather than being discovered (Guba and Lincoln, 2001).

Further, the interpretivism approach rejects the idea that there is a single knowable truth. The approach maintains that knowledge acquisition is a systematic process of current interpretation and construction of individual knowledge representations. As Jonassen (1991, p.12) notes, the interpretivists' approach challenges the belief that knowledge objectively exists and can be obtained through suitable techniques, and instead argues that all information is subject to perceptions by individual actors constructed and interpreted within frameworks of social norms.

Gender scholars believe that gender is a social construct and requires an ontology approach (West and Zimmerman, 1987; Greenberg, 1988; Vance, 1989; Weinrich, 1992; Hird and Germon, 2000; Epstein, 1987; Brickell, 2005, 2006; Lorber and Martin, 2008). Second, there is a prevailing partial rejection of positivism in favor of a greater focus on interpretivism in management research in recent years (Petit and Huault, 2008; Pringle, 2008). Positivism, which holds that an objective world of facts exists and may be unveiled by the researcher, has traditionally been a favored approach in management research (Jonassen, 1991). However, increasing numbers of researchers are turning to the interpretivism paradigm in which concepts are understood to be dynamically evolving by a co-constructed reality formed out of social interactions (Petit and Huault, 2008). This approach suggests that the

researcher can never be truly detached from the research and the data it produces (Creswell, 2007). It is especially significant for diversity management as its focus upon issues of identity and culture that rest on particular social constructs that must be explored relatively. Accordingly, qualitative interviews were adopted for data collection to enable the generation of diverse opinions and views from the participants' lived experiences and interpretations of social realities. Such participants' mental construction and descriptions of their experiences, observations and views are better elicited and analysed through qualitative interactions (Bell, 2010).

Petit and Huault (2008) urge caution in the application of an interpretivism paradigm, arguing that despite a growing number of researchers who profess a constructivist worldview, the paradigm is frequently misunderstood and misused. The increasing number of references to interpretivism principles does not necessarily indicate an actual paradigmatic shift in the way in which research is conducted. They argue that researchers have pointed to the intuition that knowledge is constructed collectively through the process of interaction (Petit and Huault, 2008). However, "these researchers sidestep the analytical process that they will impose on the agents under examination" (Petit and Huault, 2008, p.81). As a result, researchers attempt to form objective notions despite the subjective philosophy that underpins their work. Also, "although interpretivism research paradigms emphasise the complexity and social dimension of knowledge, many researchers fall back into the trap of observing, measuring and analysing phenomena", which is incompatible with interpretivism research (Petit and Huault, 2008: 81). This fundamental contradiction, therefore, begs the question "why define the objects under study according to their interpretivism connotation if this has no consequences regarding apprehending the

object of research?” (Petit and Huault, 2008: 81). It seems, therefore, that although the interpretivism approach has become increasingly popular in recent years, this has been the subject of some confusion and care must be taken to ensure that the same philosophical principles are adhered to within the research.

This interpretivist’s study unveils the knowledge that is created through the experiences of women in the Nigerian hotel industry and sets out to understand these experiences and interpretations. The study particularly presents a way of analysing issues facing women in the Nigerian hotel industry by viewing the participants as active participants rather than passive observers. The female workers in the hotel industry actively learn and adopt ways of balancing their job roles and domestic activities compared to their male counterparts. Through the qualitative interviews, the researcher extracts knowledge learned by the individual participants through experience (Jonassen, 1991:70). The study collected as much as possible data and knowledge related to the work life balance (WLB) and female advancements in the Nigerian hotel industry.

Equally it is widely acknowledged that gender is socially constructed based on people’s interpretation of their social realities, the role of investigations such as this is to unravel the underpinning interpretations and their influences on social processes and institutions (Erulkar and Bello, 2007). From an interpretivists’ perspective, the study tries to understand how such interpretations contribute to influencing women’s opportunities and gender diversity in the hotel industry in Nigeria. This entails interrogation of the values, concepts and paradigms about equal chances in the hotel's workplace. This also requires a reflexive stance of the researcher’s participation in the investigation, particularly in playing a vital role in the (Co) interpretation of realities and construction of meaning (Creswell, 2003).

Reflexivity is a “process of continuous inner dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher’s positionality, as well as active acknowledgement and recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome” (Berger, 2013, p. 2). Alvesson (2008) see reflexivity as having multi - perspective in practices. A review of the literature indicates that there is no single pattern of classification of reflexivity. Different scholars classify it differently.

Bucholtz (2001) provides four simple classifications based on the researcher’s position and experience of reflexivity; this includes, when the study involves familiar people and terrain, when studying people and phenomenon as an outsider, during a shift from outsider to insider, and when the research involves both unfamiliar people and environment. Alvesson (2008) classifies reflexivity based on a methodological view; this tends to have several variants that are all connected to a study’s philosophies and social science approaches. These variants included: Meta-theoretical reflexivity; which focuses on orientation, perspective and attitude of the researcher, interpretative reflexivity; which deals with interpretation and how researchers make sense of their data and ethnomethodology focuses on accounting behaviour and practice in research. Finlay (2006), on the other hand, classifies reflexivity based on research traditions and listing five variants that include: introspection, inter-subjective reflection, mutual collaboration, social critique, and discursive deconstruction. Irrespective of the classifications, researcher’s positioning tends to reflect in the data collection and analysis processes. The positioning include personal characteristics like gender, ethnicity, age, tradition, beliefs and personal experiences.

For example, I was born to university-educated parents in Northern part of Nigeria (Yola state), but initially from the Eastern part of Nigeria (Anambra state). When I

started attending secondary school, I was a young woman who did not quite understand the term "Gender equality". Despite growing up in a liberal environment, my upbringing included traditional Nigerian values, hence growing up I quickly learned roles expected of men and women. After my Master's degree, my mother was entirely against the idea of me continuing my educational program to a PhD level. Her reasons were Nigerian men might find me quite intimidating and overly educated, and I might never get married. Hence I picked a massive interest in researching more on gender equality in Nigeria. I became passionate in promoting the gender equality bill in Nigeria and advocating for the bill to be passed into law. Our daily interactions are fundamentally dependent on our understanding and interpretations of our worldview.

For example, during the fieldwork and data analysis, I met diverse situations, comments and behaviours that contradict my conviction as a feminist, which triggered questions within me. These questions catalysed the need to investigate more in-depth into the cultural realities, females' positions and even the intersectionality of my positionality. Significant criticisms against reflexivity vary, just like its classifications. Bucholtz (2001) observes that scholars are divided on the importance and outcomes of reflexivity. While some of them construe reflexivity as a methodological element of qualitative research for enhancing research objectivity, others argue that it is as a crucial weapon against objectivism and serving as a methodological trick-instrument. Bucholtz (2001) argues that self-consciousness and criticism may not ensure reflexivity in research; likewise reflexivity may not necessitate self-criticism. Finlay (2002, p.209) concludes that the concept and process of reflexivity "are full of muddy ambiguity and multiple trails as researchers

negotiate the swamp of interminable deconstructions". Researchers should instead learn how to replace self-effacement during their research processes with some high level of self-consciousness (Bucholtz, 2001). The following sub-section provides, in more details, how data were collected.

4.3 Approach to Data Collection

This section summarises the study's data collection method and its rationale. Crotty (1998) defines the method as procedures used to collect and analyse a study data. The method of the study is qualitative, which has been influenced by its epistemological foundation and research questions. The primary research questions demanded a qualitative approach that would permit exploration of attitudes and perceptions of the barriers and issues involved in managing gender diversity within a Nigerian setting. Qualitative research is a kind of systematic empirical investigation into meanings, perceptions and experiences (Shank, 2002; Ospina, 2004; Kumar, 2013; Syafrizala and Rohmawatib, 2017). Syafrizala and Rohmawatib (2017: 74) explain that by systematic, it implies that qualitative method is "planned, ordered and public', following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community" and by empirical, qualitative method "is grounded in the world of experience". An investigation into meaning implies that researchers make an effort to understand and explain how people make sense of their feelings and experience (Ospina, 2004). Researchers tend to adopt a qualitative approach to aid understanding of perspectives, attitudes and experiences of respondents and often seek to answer what, why and how questions on a particular phenomenon (Patton, 2001). One of the distinguishing characteristics of the qualitative method is that it is more flexible and allows a researcher greater freedom to practice spontaneity and experience qualitative interaction with the study participant. Qualitative approaches

to data collection typically seek to discover the context in which an event embedded and the subjective perspectives of those involved in the event (Gorman and Clayton, 2005). Thus, qualitative research questions are mostly open-ended with some level of flexibility in the wording of similar questions being asked respective respondents (Ospina, 2004).

Qualitative studies also are distinguishable from their level of experiential engagement, including direct contact with the study respondents, in many cases, researchers' physical involvement in the setting and person to person (or group) interaction in search of meanings (Shank, 2002; Ospina, 2004). However, Mason (2002, p.4) warns against any attempt to strictly specify common features of qualitative studies because "there are many different 'qualitative' answers to central questions of methodology". She argues that "Some of the answers may apply to what is known as 'quantitative' research as well" and research practice may not involve stark differentiation of qualitative and quantitative methodology. Instead, "any researcher should always think carefully about integrating different methods, whether or not they think they are integrating quantitative with qualitative methods, or qualitative with qualitative, or quantitative with quantitative" (Mason, 2002, p.4).

Although qualitative studies tend to vary in their data collection methods, they are remarkable in their dealing with subjective, emotive and individual perceptions in their efforts to understand phenomena within its cultural context. Qualitative research has some advantages, most notably, the ability to study a phenomenon in great detail, embedded within a specific context. It allows a comprehensive understanding of contextual detail and often prompts an examination of the cultural assumptions and perceptions that govern individual interactions (Gorman and Clayton, 2005).

However, it is also time-consuming to both collect and analyses data, and, precisely because the findings are rooted so firmly within their context, elicits conclusions that are difficult to generalise across studies.

Quantitative research methods, in contrast, tend to focus on the collection and analysis of numerical data. Such data is often, though not always, used to test existing theories and hypotheses in line with a positivist research framework (Cresswell, 2003). Quantitative research examines and measures existing variables detached from their natural context or setting, and involves a standardisation of measurements, often based on the collection of data through surveys or experiments (Cresswell, 2003). As a result, quantitative studies typically produce results that are more easily generalizable and are reliably verified through retesting. It is particularly useful for examining relationships between variables and allows theories and hypotheses to be easily tested. Furthermore, quantitative research is typically efficient to undertake, allowing rapid, extensive data collection and analysis through the use of statistical methods. However, by detaching the research from the specific case in which it occurs, and effectively ignoring the salience of context, quantitative research often fails to achieve the same explanatory power as qualitative research. Although the researcher and the subjective views of participants arguably less bias quantitative methods, the concepts, definitions and categorisations employed by the researcher may not apply to the particular cultural circumstances under investigation. Phenomena cannot be examined at the same depth as with a qualitative study.

The two approaches to data collection, therefore, present different advantages and weaknesses and must be selected by the research philosophy under consideration. Quantitative analysis tends to necessitate deductive reasoning, whereas qualitative research typically follows an inductive approach, based upon interpretivism or

constructivism (Cresswell, 2003). However, the two approaches can be fruitfully combined, exploit the benefits of both approaches to data collection and analysis. This 'mixed methods' approach is widely used in the social sciences to use a variety of methods that permit triangulation of data to produce more reliable results (Johnson et al., 2007). This approach also allows researchers to develop a research methodology that is specific to their particular study, and allow them to gather a representative set of data from which to draw conclusions. This 'pragmatic approach' seeks to bridge paradigmatic oppositions between different research philosophies and exploit the advantages and 'cancel out' the pitfalls of depending entirely on one approach (Creswell, 2003). This approach has been questioned, however, by those who believe that missing underlying epistemological assumptions will only elicit dispersed and confusing findings (Bryman, 2006). Mixed methods approaches do pose considerable challenges, as sometimes the attempt to combine these two very different datasets can cause difficulties. Typically, there is a 'paradigm emphasis' where one research approach is more central to the investigation. Mixed methods approaches have distinct advantages in allowing qualitative, subjective data to be supplemented by numerical data that can often form an essential part of the context in which the research is taking place (Bryman, 2006). It also may allow qualitative findings to be more easily generalised through quantitative sampling. However, this approach can also prove challenging by placing greater cognitive and temporal demands on the researcher, and by causing difficulties regarding integrating different kinds of datasets.

In this study, qualitative approach has been employed to investigate intersectional factors and culturally idealised gender positionalities and practices that influence the

state of gender diversity in the hotel industry. The method of data collection is interview approach that provides an opportunity for the exploration of people's experiences, views and practices. In-depth interviews, using semi-structured interview guides, were used to collect data from pre-identified respondents in the selected research locations.

The decision to adopt qualitative approach is mainly because the study explores qualitative issues that relate to experience, perspective and meanings from the respondents' points of view (Hammarberg, Kirkman & de Lacey, 2016), and particularly on issues around gender practices in the society and hotel industry and the possible interrelationship between cultural practices and industry practices. The qualitative experience of respondents may not be effectively captured by a quantitative method, making it very important to adopt qualitative approach. Specifically, cultural and religious values that underpin prevailing practices may not be adequately captured by a quantitative instrument. Metso & Le Feuvre (2006) noted that numerous problems are likely to arise from any attempt to employ quantitative methods for the study of ethnic issues from a feminist perspective. They argue that while such attempt might provide some relevant indications of women's experience of cultural issues, they must there exist a danger of biases that are traditionally associated with quantitative procedures. Such problems and biases include the "problem of missing data on women and on the gender-biased categories that are all too frequently used to collect and analyse data on women in general and on migrant or ethnic minority women in particular" (Metso & Le Feuvre, 2006, p.10). In the context of this study, lots of information would have been missed if the quantitative approach had been adopted because of the rigid nature of the

instrument; instead, various issues that emerged in the field that were not previously thought about during the study design. An excellent example of this is an issue of time-restriction for female movement, which one respondent mentioned was limited to four pm. Another example is a window of opportunity the manifest females' agency, which filtered through the discussion, despite widespread acquiescence among the female respondents.

Specifically, the primary research questions of this study demanded a qualitative approach that would permit exploration of attitudes and perceptions of the barriers and issues involved in managing gender diversity within a Nigerian setting. Also, it was considered necessary to place a pre-eminent focus on the subjective perceptions and information provided by individual participants. The study took place in several stages, beginning with an extensive literature review to establish the main areas of research and theoretical approaches to diversity management. A focused literature review was deemed necessary due to the extent of research that has been conducted in the area and the need to establish the significant theoretical and conceptual approaches to diversity and gender that form the backdrop for this investigation. The literature review revealed a lack of research within a specifically Nigerian context, and consequently, many of the existing conceptual paradigms used to research diversity in the workplace could not be immediately applied to the complex identity politics that characterise Nigerian society. The concepts and issues that emerged from the literature review were used to inform the content and structure of the semi-structured interview questions that form the basis of the primary data collection methods adopted during this investigation. To address the research questions at the centre of this study, a research paradigm had to be defined that

would guide the data collection process. Within social science and management research, there are three critical methodological approaches to data collection: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Johnson et al., 2007). In practice, qualitative procedures often involve a small amount of quantitative data collection, but this does not necessarily mean they ought to be classified as mixed methods studies (Mason, 2002). In part, the use of either qualitative or quantitative methods is determined by the nature of the research question and the epistemological and ontological assumptions that underpin the research (Bryman, 1999).

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The method of the study, discussed in this subsection, informed its sampling technique, which is detailed below.

4.4 Sampling

Sampling refers to the process of selecting study units from a defined population of research interest while sample refers to a portion of a study population (Elder, 2009; Etikan et al. 2016). The sample for this study has been purposefully selected. Elder (2009, p.6) explains a purposive sample as the “selection of units based on personal judgement rather than randomization. This judgemental sampling is in some way “representative” of the population of interest without sampling at random”. This section describes the study sampling framework.

Three geographically and demographically diverse cultural locations were purposefully selected for the study: Lagos in the Southeast, Imo in the Southeast and Kaduna in the northern Nigeria. These locations were considered because of their cultural representation. The three cultural zones represent the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria: Kaduna in the Hausa and Fulani dominated the region, Lagos in the Yoruba region and Imo in the Igbo region. Each of these cultural zones has distinct cultural and religious perspective about equality in women. While Lagos

and Imo are located in the Christian dominated south, with Lagos being a melting pot for Nigerian ethnic and cultural groups, Kaduna is located in the Muslim dominated north (see Figure 2 in Section 4:1). The state selection has been purposeful because of a need to select states that are typical representative of their sociocultural zones. Secondly, many states are currently experiencing diverse violent conflict issues and may constitute a security risk to the researcher. However, the cultural and religious mix allows the research to be able to compare different cultural regions of Nigeria in relation to the gender gap and gender equality issues and enhance the generation of information from the different cultural perspective of women in the different zones. Further details of the states and their respective geopolitical zones are already summarized in the preceding chapter.

Three hotels, one in each geo-cultural zone, were used for the study. The names of the hotels used in the study and their exact addresses and locations have been kept confidential, as requested by the hotels' management and in line with the ethical approval procedures. It is important to explain here that my general understanding and experience of gender situation in my country and its impact on women's opportunity may have influenced my choice of study states, and hotels. The selected hotels for this research are standard hotel at two-star hotel grade. A two-star hotel is a grade of hotel, which offers a higher standard of accommodation with at least 20-30 better-equipped en suite bedrooms than a one-star hotel. Each guest room must have telephone and television and must have a minimum parking area for at least 10-20 guests car. Most two-star hotel are privately owned and operated. The standard hotels were expected to have the capacity of employing a minimum of 30 employees. This criterion was verified through the hotel employment handbook

provided by the Human Resource managers of the hotel. Preference was given to hotels that had more workers because it was considered that the more workers the hotel employs, the more chances of the research getting participants to take part in the interview. It also provided opportunities for mixed gender and participants' views.

Also, hotels in strategic positions or the heart of the state capital were given priority among those that met the above criteria because they are more likely to attract staff and have a high rate of awareness and staff turn-over. It was necessary to use relatively lower grade hotels to be able to learn employees' experiences during recruitment and their relationship with management. Most international franchise hotels or four-star hotels make or use professional recruitment companies, which make it difficult to learn about behind-the-scene interactions between the management and the recruiting company regarding gender and cultural issues. With the lower class hotels or standard hotels, it was easy to learn factors that influenced recruitment from employees, who had direct contact with management during the recruitment processes. Also, hiring through recruitment agencies limits the personal relationship between the management and the hotel workers, which enhances loss of managerial control. Direct hiring puts the hotel in full control of the management of staff and aids personal relationships between workers and management. This is useful for the research because the participant and the management would be able to share lived experiences in answering interview questions that deal with challenges they face in their day to day work life, and the role culture and gender play.

Another important consideration for choosing two star hotels is that most higher star hotels, especially national and international franchise hotels, have a lot of protocols

for researchers to go through, which can possibly block any opportunity to conduct external research in such hotels, simply because the brand name is at stake, same as their international operation licensees if the result of the interview does not favour and conform with the gender policy guidelines of the hotel compared to stranded hotels.

Within the hotels selected, they had a board of management that consisted of the general manager, HR manager and at least one supervisor. This helped to enhance the opportunity to look into their different perspectives on gender diversity at the top management levels. It also enables comparison of the various views such as whether managers in the hotel industry were biased on job responsibility in the hotel. The selected hotels also had different departments such as housekeeping, cooking and customer services. It is pertinent to note that only one hotel was chosen in each state to allow in-depth examination. For confidentiality, the hotels and participants identities are not revealed. Also, descriptions of the locations of the study that might provide suggestive information about which hotel was used in the study have as well be kept confidential: hotels meeting the above categories are not many in Kaduna and the IMO States. Hence more detailed information about their locations might help anyone with the good understanding of the environment to pinpoint the chosen hotels.

A sum of 38 interviewees was selected for the study, all of which were employed in the hotels chosen for the study in Kaduna, Lagos and Owerri. The participants were varied in terms of personal and demographic features, covering male and female employees in a range of different job roles. The respondents represented different

job roles yielding a total of 14 different locations. 22 of the 38 respondents were female, and 16 were male. The age range of participants was from 17 years to 46 years old, with a mean average of 31 years and six months old. A total of 19 out of the 38 respondents were married, three were divorced while six were never married. 19 of those that stated their level of education had some tertiary education, while three and 6 had secondary and primary education respectively. Assigned numbers have been used to represent the respondents: the state-gender-number codes are used to replace their names in this report to ensure anonymity in the discussion.

In Imo, all but one of the female respondents, whose educational background information was available, had tertiary education. In Lagos, all the female respondents had tertiary education while only one out of four respondents whose educational background information was available in Kaduna had tertiary education. This also reflect the widely reported gap between north and south in education (NPC and RTI, 2011; Unterhalter et al., 2017). Lagos had more a mixture of various socioeconomic classes and tribes in Nigeria than other states studied. Imo also had some mix of ethnic groups more than Kaduna; this is possibly related to how they were employed, as subsequently discussed. The respondents in Lagos varied by their ethnic groups more than any other locations of the study. This reflects the cosmopolitan nature of the state. LM2 describes the state as “a melting pot of several cultures”.

Further analysis of the respondents’ characteristics suggests some differences between north and south and, between Christians and Muslims. Many northern females married in their teens while many southern females married relatively later. For example, Imo Female 1 was a Christian, 30 years but unmarried and without Children while KF4 was just 20 years, married with four children, she married at the

age of 14 years old; she is a Muslim. Also, most Southern and Christian males had monogamous homes. Muslim males, including those that held lower salary jobs positions, had wives and were not willing to allow their wives to work. KM3, for example, worked as a security person, who suggests he received a meager salary, had three wives and eight children. He insisted that he would not allow his wives or female children to work.

Table 1: Summary of the participant characteristics

#	Gender	Respondents	Age	Marital Status	Position	Qualification level
1.	Female	IF1	30	Single	Booking desk	Tertiary
2.	Female	IF10	29	Single	Manager	Tertiary
3.	Female	IF2	36	Single	Customer services	Tertiary
4.	Female	1F3	28	Single	Room service	Tertiary
5.	Female	IF4	20	Married	Concierge	Tertiary
6.	Female	IF5	36	Married	Cook	Primary
7.	Female	IF6	37	Married	Not specified*	Not specified
8.	Female	IF7	31	Single	Not specified	Not specified
9.	Female	IF8	29	Single	Room service	Tertiary
10.	Female	IF9	28	Single	Bar attendant	Not specified
11.	Male	IM1	41	Married	Gate person	Not specified
12.	Male	IM2	31	Not said	Gate person	Not specified
13.	Male	IM3	34	Married	Laundry	Primary
14.	Male	IM4	21	Married	Supervisor	Tertiary
15.	Female	KF1	34	Married	Cook	Primary
16.	Female	KF2	41	Divorced	Room service	Not specified
17.	Female	KF3	42	Married	Cook	Primary
18.	Female	KF4	20	Married	Cleaner	Not specified
19.	Female	KF5	25	Single	Customer Service	Tertiary
20.	Female	KF6		Divorced	Room service	Secondary
21.	Female	KF7	17	Single	Cook	Not specified

22.	Male	KM1	40	Married	Gateman	Primary
23.	Male	KM2	46	Married	HR Manager	Tertiary
24.	Male	KM3	36	Married	Security	Secondary
25.	Male	KM4	30	Single	Supervisor	Tertiary
26.	Female	LF1	24	Married	Room service	Tertiary
27.	Female	LF2	40	Married	Receptionist	Tertiary
28.	Female	LF3	20	Single	Receptionist	Tertiary
29.	Female	LF4	30	Married	Receptionist	Tertiary
30.	Female	LF5	30	Divorced	Customer Service	Tertiary
31.	Male	LM1	30	Single	Cook	Tertiary
32.	Male	LM2	38	Married	HR Manager	Tertiary
33.	Male	LM3	26	Single	Security	Primary
34.	Male	LM3	45	Married	Floor person	Secondary
35.	Male	LM4	45	Married	HR Manager	Tertiary
36.	Male	LM5	22	Single	Hotel assistant	Tertiary
37.	Male	LM6	36	Married	Not specified	Not specified
38.	Male	LM7	27	Single	Floor person	Not specified

*(Not specified) this information was not provided by the respondents

4.5 Research Instrument (Semi-structured interview)

Relevance and suitability of data collection instrument are of paramount importance to researchers. Research instruments are expected to be relevant to answering the research questions and also meet the demand of the chosen research paradigm and methodology (Bell, 2005). The concepts and issues that emerged from the literature review guided instrument development concerning content and structure. The instruments used for data collection were semi-structured and were primarily guided to ensure. Gill (2008, p.292) described semi-structured interviews as research instruments consisting of “several key questions that help to define the areas to be

explored, but also allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge to pursue an idea or response in more detail". The format of semi-structured interview provides participants with guidance with regards to what to talk about, and some explanations are provided if need be. The interviewer uses the structured questions to ask questions to the interviewees, and they find this helpful. The flexibility of semi-structured interviews compared to structured interviews, allows the interviewer to discover or in other cases elaborate information significant to participants but could not have been thought of as important by the research team previously.

The instrument had three sections and contained questions that were designed to help answer the research questions. The initial draft was reviewed and critiqued by supervisors, after which it was piloted. The pilot contributed to identifying shortcomings in the instruments, which was improved before being used for data collection. Copies of the instruments are attached in the appendix. Blandford (2013) defined a semi-structured qualitative study as one, which involves interviews and observations that has some element of structuring but is not completely or rigidly structured. The interview guide has some elements of flexibility but the interviewer does not have an outright freedom to do what he or she likes. The approach involves some systematic iterative coding and collation of interview data. The Semi-structured interviews were chosen for data collection because they are characterised by dialogue, discussion, and open-ended questions, and questioning between the investigator and the interviewee (Stroh, 2000). Considering that the primary purpose of semi-structured interviews is to specifically explore the views, beliefs, experiences, and motivations of persons on particular matters, it was deemed very useful for eliciting such beliefs and experiences. It was particularly employed in the interaction with the human resource managers and lower staff employees in hotels in

Northern, Southern and Eastern Nigeria. It helped in gaining a deeper understanding of WLB from the experiences of the respondents, cultural influences on their life and career choices as well as their personal experiences and opinion on factors surrounding males and females career progression in the industry (Easterby-Smith et al, 2008).

As the study relates to social and applied research categories that are particularly interested in personal histories, experiences, and perspectives, extensive time was given to interaction with the respondents to elicit information through open conversations between the researcher and participants. The discussions were guided by pre-determined prompts or questions designed to ensure that the discussion remains focused on the issues at hand. Gill et al. (2008) pointed out that semi-structured interviews have open and closed questions. They are different from structured interviews, which are “essentially, verbally administered questionnaires, in which a list of predetermined questions are asked, with little or no variation and with no scope for follow-up questions to responses that warrant further elaboration” (Gill et al., 2008, p.292). Belonging to a semi-structured interview category, the study employed various primary questions (see attached instrument in Appendix 1) directed at answering the research questions. The flexibility of the semi-structured instrument made it easier for the interviewers and the interviewees to diverge and pursue a response creating probing (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, Lowe, 2008).

The study sought to understand ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the situation under investigation (Stroh 2000), there was extensive opportunity to deeply probe cultural influences and practical issues around WLB of hotel employees, their career advancement and gender diversity issues in the senior management of hotels where data were collected. The related cases gave the opportunity for comparison (see

also Collis and Hussey 2003; Zikmund, 2003). Explanations in plain language were provided in situations where some interviewees had a limited understanding of the question. At the same time, the researcher probed emerging issues for the in-depth understanding of both context and what the respondent meant. Semi-structured nature of the interviews gave ample opportunities for the interviewees to provide elaborate responses without restriction. It also provided the respondents with enough opportunities to express themselves. Importantly, the level of education of the interviewees informed the choice of semi-structured interview: many of them had limited education and use of English. Questions were constantly restated while interacting with such respondents to enable easy communication. Finally, the pattern of interviews was advantageous as it helped the researcher to fully engage the respondents in dialogue in a creative manner, employ prior knowledge of Nigerian socio-cultural environment to ensure clarity, reduce ambiguity and extract useful data (Cooper and Schindler, 2014). The combination of the disciplinary and local knowledge was interestingly helpful in gaining a clearer picture of the personal respondents' behavior and position (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005). Semi-structured interviews considered non-standardized interview processes used in qualitative research, which does not require the researcher to test any particular hypothesis. In this kind of investigation, a list of the main themes and questions for the interactions are provided but such questions are not rigid and might be extended or adjusted as situation demands. The questions are listed in an interview guide that serves as the research instrument (Corbetta, 2003; David and Sutton, 2004) Like in structured interviews, note taking and electronic recording of the interactions are the essential part of the process to enable the researcher to analyse the information. One of the key strengths of semi-structured interviews is the freedom to prompt and probe

further and deeper into issues being discussed or matters that arise from the given situation. It also provides the opportunity for the researcher to explain and rephrase the questions where necessary. A major limitation of this approach is that inexperienced researchers may not be able to follow up or probe emerging issues and problems (Corbetta, 2003; David and Sutton, 2004).

4.6 Pilot Study

Pilots are employed in research studies to help determine the instruments 'identify areas of improvement in both the instrument and research design. Good pilot studies provide early warning signals, highlight possible challenges that may be experienced during data collection and reduce possible ambiguity and misconceptions (de Vaus, 1996: 83).

After the initial set of instruments was designed and reviewed, it was used in a pilot study in Lagos, Imo and Kaduna. The importance of conducting the pilot study was to test the choice of research instrument chosen, establishing whether it was best for the research and the limitations of the choice of research instrument. During the pilot, it was observed that respondents were providing concise responses, mainly 'yes' and 'no' responses. Consequently, questions had to be improved upon to be able to prompt detailed discussions and extract stories from the respondents. It was also discovered that the participants were not comfortable about sharing their personal experiences only because sensitive questions about their culture were asked and a level of trust was not yet established to make the participant share their experiences with me. This was addressed by ensuring trust was established in the subsequent field visits and giving them assurance that the interview information would not be shared with their management or be used against them in any way. The pilot also highlighted the need to limit the number of interviews, which gave

opportunities for conducting intensive interviews. Trust was built and more time allocated to the limited number of interview respondents. Another important issue that came up during the pilot was the need to include males. The study was initially designed to be conducted with females, but the pilot revealed the need to include male opinions. Males were finally included among the study respondents to create balanced views of how culture influences gender diversity in hotels.

4.7 Main Data Collection (Field Work)

Interviews were carried out in an office inside the hotel to ensure that participants felt comfortable discussing the issues and are confident that their responses are confidential and would not be shared with their colleagues. The interviews lasted between 15 and 45 minutes, this is because the managers needed the staff to attend to their job responsibility as soon as possible. Information was documented through note taking and audio recording. During the interviews, notes were taken throughout the conversations. This was concentrated on the interviewee's perceptions of the process, their role, and visible aspects such as body language and attitude of the participants.

It is pertinent to mention here that there were numerous challenges faced during the data gathering process. As a result of the conflicts in north-central Nigeria, settlement patterns have changed, and they continue to shift along religious, and in some instances ethnic, lines. For example, various sections of the city were dominated by people of different faiths (each chapter/city was inhabited by people of a particular faith) making it quite difficult for someone of the opposite faith to move or drive in these areas due to fear of attack.

Two of the male workers in Northern Nigeria refused to grant an interview firstly because of the researcher's different religious and cultural background. Secondly,

based on the limitations of traditional practice that limits females from freely mixing with males outside their family members in some parts of northern Nigeria. Such male respondents felt a female interviewer should not interview them and considered this an insult based on the cultural views of male dominance. This was addressed by employing a male local linguistic to communicate in their local language to aid effective understanding of the questions asked. Participants also felt more comfortable in interacting with their fellow man.

The researcher found interviewing and recording personal experiences of the hotel workers for this research to be a herculean task. One of the reasons for this was the consent forms introduced by the University for the research purposes raised concerns among the respondents about the nature of the interactions. Although in the past the researcher had interacted easily and informally through the hotel management, the consent forms caused some anxieties among prospective respondents. This was not surprising, given the sensitivity of the topic in Nigeria; it made things harder for the researcher in some ways (discussed in more detail below).

The consent forms directly took the respondents into the realm of officialdom; the need to obtain signatures limited the level of informality and freedom of speech the researcher previously enjoyed before the main interviews. Also, note taking and voice recording immediately put the respondents in a position of reservation, forcing them to focus on accuracy and correctness of speech and fear of being quoted, which might have led to them losing their jobs. In such cases, the researcher had to switch to listening more and reassuring them of the confidentiality of the interview to enable the respondents to feel relaxed. It was imperative to many of the

respondents to be sure that their information was not going to be used against them at any point in time.

Besides, the researcher also had to avoid or consciously moderate susceptible questions or emotional triggers that would bring uncomfortable feelings. This was done through paying attention to the respondent's facial expressions and body language as questions were asked, and empathising with them when the need arose. There were severe moments when recording had to stop to empathise with the respondents before continuing. This incident happened mostly in Lagos (three times) and in Kaduna (four times).

A further problem encountered was mainly with the management of the hotel. Getting the hotel managers to keep appointments was a challenge as many interviews and meetings were re-scheduled repeatedly.

Another issue was that most of the field research was limited by time, most of the workers had to rush the interviews because hotel management gave them limited time. The researcher had to make efficient use of the time that was provided by the management to conduct interviews.

Finally, while it is primarily assumed that adults involved in research could give consent for themselves, obtaining the consent of spouses of female respondents was very important for female staff in the North; they felt the need to request for permission from their husbands before signing the consent form and partaking in the interview. Given the vulnerability of some women, the use of the consent form was helpful because it gave confidence to the respondents that the information they provided was not going to be used against them, and that the well-being of the respondents was considered by the institutions involved in the research.

4.5 Data Analysis

This section summarises data analysis process, which began with the transcription of the interview data. With each of the interview data transcribed, the processes of exploring and organising meaning of experiences and opinions observed in the study data followed, beginning with the coding of the data. According to Clarke & Braun (2013) data analysis is an essential method in the diverse range of theoretical perspective and research interests because it is adaptable to different kinds of research questions and is useful for analysing different data types, both primary and secondary data. Braun & Clarke (2006) list six interconnected phases of thematic analysis:

- a) Familiarisation: with the data, which is a prevalent practice in qualitative analysis and is a process, through which researcher become intimately familiar with their study data as they read and re-read and make initial analytic observations;
- b) Coding: is also a method of reducing data and involves generation of brief labels for critical features of the data (coding is further discussed below);
- c) Search for themes: themes are coherent and meaningful patterns within the data that are related to the research questions; with the coded data, themes are constructed from the observable patterns;
- d) Reviewing themes: at this stage, the constructed themes are checked to ensure they adequately represent the stories from the data and harmonise possible duplications.
- e) Defining and naming themes: these demands further detailed analysis of respective themes to evaluate how they relate to the central study objective and overall story the researcher is telling through the data and;

f) Writing up: a researcher at this stage weaves and organises the analytic narrative in more precise and coherent details in the context of the study and relate them to existing literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Ample time was spent looking at the data and observing a general pattern of the information. This was followed by a more in-depth look at each informant account during the interview. This help to identify significant issues and each respondent's conceptualisation and interpretation of the phenomenon framed through the research question. The analysis then moved to what Ben-Ari & Enosh, (2010) referred to as text deliberation, which is an attempt to identify various recurrent themes, prevailing terms, behavioural and associations that are emerging. It was an inductive process that through which meanings were drawn from a recurrent pattern in the information presented by respective respondents. The themes were further classified to generate new insight, which led to the merging of some of the themes to produce the distinct theme that has been presented in the data presentation and analysis section. This process reflects Ben-Ari & Enosh's (2010, p.4) four levels of analysis: "observation, informants' accounts, text deliberation, and contextualization and reconstruction". For this research, Coding was to analyse data collected. According to (Charmaz, 2016; Stuckey, 2015; Theron, 2015) Coding is one of the initial steps and essential element in qualitative data analysis. A code, according to Theron (2015, p.4) is a descriptive construct developed by an investigator to capture the basic elements and content of the collected data. Theron also defines coding as an interpretive exercise that has attributes that depend on researcher's perspective, which tends to differ among researchers even if they are investigating similar phenomenon (Theron, 2015, p.4). Charmaz (2006, p.46) describes it as "a pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data". A study context, its

research and the personality, as well as the researcher's interest tends to influence codes attributes Theron (2015). This relativism does not imply that codes could be generated and used arbitrarily as doing so could distort meanings that could be drawn from the data. Instead, it suggests that code generation and use need to be done reflexively. Researchers need to take reasonability for their personal (and experiential) influence on their code development and utilisation as well as the overall research (Ben-Ari & Enosh, 2010; Berger, 2013).

Theron (2015) identified three steps for effective coding: reading and understanding of the data to develop a storyline; categorisation of the data with similar attributes into codes and; use of memos for both clarification and interpretation of the codes. Stuckey notes that it is essential to bear in mind the research question throughout the coding processes to remain focused and develop codes that are relevant to the study. The researcher compares incidents in the data in every way possible to ask relevant questions. For instance, what is the subject of the data? The episode represented by the data, what happens to the data, and the accounts of concerns faced by the participants among others (Glaser, 1998, p.140). Within the steps identified by Stuckey lies naming, identifying, and describing phenomena in a text, which has been defined as open coding. At this stage during the analysis, labels like WLB, the hotels, and friendships among others were generated. Categories also featured business organisations, communities, job roles, social relations, and impacts of interactions among others.

Coding stimulates ideas. The researcher codes many categories that are relevant to the study to highlight different incidents. During coding, new categories can emerge

as new incidents merge with existing ones. At first, the process may feel awkward, however; the researcher gets used to the situation during the continuous efforts to code (Oktay, 2012). Coding in qualitative research helps to reduce the pressure of uncertainties by capturing every aspect of the data. As the researcher continues to code, the patterns in the data emerge. The patterns offer the researcher confidence that he or she is going in the right direction with the data collection, coding and analytical process.

In table 2 below, a sample of data containing a respondent's view has been coded in column two (open code) and three (axial code) to provide detailed information on how various themes were arrived at in the last column (selective code) and analysed in the discussions. Various codes, represented by each word in column two have been given different colours to highlight what they represent in column one. These codes in colours were further matched to produce different phrases (in column three) that were refined to produce various themes in column four.

Table 2: Sample Coding Table

Data Sample	Open	Axial	Selective coding
<i>The manager is a man he cannot give a woman the same job as a man. We the men are made by God to do the hard job. If they need something heavy</i>	Role Restriction Discrimination Gender Religion Macho-man Manager Assignment Hard job	Leadership + gender + assignment + Job = gender based role assignment and discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender Roles • Gender discrimination
		Gender + macho-man + role + assignment = hegemonic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hegemonic masculinity • Male dominance

<i>to be done in the hotel they call the man not the woman because we the men have the power to do hard jobs not the women. So I think that explains everything - LM 6</i>		masculinity influence on role assignment	
		Religion + hard job + assignment = Religiously idealized gender roles and religion-influenced hegemonic masculinity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religions influence • Religiously idealised gender roles • Intersection of gender, religion and job responsibilities
		Gender + religion + job + assignment = influence of intersection of gender and religious factors on roles division	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intersection of gender and religion • Intersection of gender, religion and job responsibilities

It is pertinent to note that right from the design stage, up to this stage, reliability and validity issues were taken into consideration to ensure that both data collection and analysis lead to the production of high quality outcome, as summarised in the following subsection.

4.6 Reliability and Validity

‘Reliability’ is mainly applied when testing as well as evaluating quantitative research. It can be implemented to verify the quality of the qualitative study. A good qualitative study can help us “understand a situation that would otherwise be enigmatic or confusing” (Eisner, 1991, p. 58). The definition is related to the good quality research concept, and it is used for the purpose of explaining that quality can be used in the qualitative study to generate an understanding (Stenbacka, 20011).

He also pointed out that the concept of reliability could be misleading in qualitative research. Patton (2001) stated that validity and reliability remain as the main elements that any qualitative researcher must be concerned while designing a study, collecting data, and analysing findings and judging the study's quality. The statement by Patton (2001) relates to the question by Lincoln and Guba (1989, p.290) "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of the inquiry are worth paying attention to" To provide an answer to the query, Healy and Perry (2000) asserted that study quality in each paradigm must be judged based on its own paradigm's terms. For instance, in qualitative paradigms, the terms credibility, consistency or dependability and applicability/transferability are applied in measuring quality in qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1989). More specifically, Lincoln and Guba (2001, p.300) used the term "dependability", to relate the notion of "reliability" when undertaking quantitative research and term reliability in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1989) further emphasised "inquiry audit" to be one of the measures that could enhance promote dependability of qualitative research. It can also be applied to measure research for consistency. Seale (1999) endorsed the term dependability and coherence to imply to a standard for reliability in qualitative research. For instance, consistency of data is realised when the phases of the research have been verified via cross checking raw data, data process notes and reduction products.

To promote reliability in qualitative research, the researcher endeavored to inspect and monitor trustworthiness of information being collected at various stages. During the instrument design, attention was given to clarity of questions that can draw out clear and unambiguous data. This was also validated before and after the pilot study.

During data collection, effort was applied to identifying respondents, and the researcher personally interacted with them, encouraging openness and provision of accurate information. The confidential places used for interviews and promises of confidentiality also encouraged their openness and willingness to provide their sincere opinions and share personal experiences. The researcher also continuously gave the respondents assurance of her trustworthiness and observed the countenances and body languages of the respondents for any signs of uneasiness, which might suggest they were either uncomfortable with the discussions or keeping some relevant information from the researcher.

The concept of validity is “rather a contingent construct, inescapably grounded in the processes and intentions of particular research methodologies and projects” (Winter, 2000, p.1). Creswell (2014) suggested that validity is related to the researchers’ perception of how valid the study is and it is affected by the paradigm assumption. Subsequently, concepts of validity have been developed to measure quality such as the terms trustworthiness and rigor (Davies and Dodd, 2002). Some of these have already discussed above, including the extent the researcher went in ensuring the study is not only replicable but the information collected and analysed pass validity test. Davies and Dodd (2002) searched for better term for validity and used the term rigor to refer to the discussion of both reliability and validity. In addition, Davies and Dodd (2002) have argued that the use of the concept rigor in qualitative research must be different from quantitative research and this is achieved by “accepting that there is a quantitative bias in the concept of rigor, we now move on to develop our preconception of rigor by exploring subjectivity, reflexivity, and the social interaction of interviewing” (p.281). Thus, rigour must be different in qualitative research as well as in quantitative research.

The dependability of the research was established by maintaining a comprehensive set of notes and records about the various phases of the research. These included the interview guide, the interviewee information sheets, consent to participation forms, audio files, interview transcripts and documenting the processes and procedures used in data analyses. The percentage of the effort to ensure conformability of this study was an extensive review of literature to understand existing evidence and knowledge gaps. Also ethical standards, and validation of the instruments were observed to assure that its trustworthiness and reliability. Similar to the concept of external validity as tested in quantitative research, transferability is applied in qualitative research to establish whether the findings can be duplicated into other contexts. To promote, transferability in this dissertation, it was developed through the description of the contexts, conclusions and perspectives that enclosed participants' experiences. By providing satisfactory detail in the framework of the study, the researcher allowed readers to decide whether the results were transferable and applicable in other circumstances.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Throughout the investigation, University of Wolverhampton ethical guidelines were adhered to in order to ensure that the data collections process was conducted as ethically as possible. Participants were fully informed of the process of research, the aims of the investigation and the use to which their data will be put to ensure that they are participating in the investigation by informed consent. When participants were first approached to engage in the project, they were given a short written

description of the project and provided with a contact number in case they had any questions or wished to discuss the project with the researcher before agreeing to take part. Once participants agreed to participate, they were asked to sign a written consent form. Before the interviews, participants were also sent a written summary of the aims and process of research and requested to consider the themes of the investigation in preparation for the interview. Also, before the interview started, the participant was reminded of the detail contained within the information distributed before the interview and allowed to ask any further questions before the interview started. If at any point the participant felt uncomfortable with the research process, they had the opportunity to stop the interview or withdraw from the project at any time. In this way, it was ensured that the participants are entirely consenting by full knowledge of what the research process entails.

Strict confidentiality procedures were adhered to at all points in the investigation. Information about participating hotels and managers were anonymised to ensure that no data collected may be traced back to a particular hotel or individual. No personal data was stored, as all data were coded and anonymised at the point of collection. Ethical data storage procedures were adhered to, as all digital information were stored in university secure network. Any physical data (such as the consent forms) were stored in a locked container and only used by the researcher for the research. This was particularly important in the case of this research due to the sensitive nature of the data: participants were asked to provide information and opinions that they may not have felt comfortable sharing with their employees.

Care was taken to ensure that the participants were comfortable with the data collection process at all times. The interview was conducted in the hotel surroundings, and the researcher took care to ensure that all the participants are

comfortable and happy with the process. They were assured of the confidentiality of the data processing and that the purpose is not to evaluate their performance (i.e., there are no wrong answers). This will ensure that the participants experience as little stress as possible during the research process.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has summarized the research methodology, providing a comprehensive discussion of and justification for the choices made and various activities that were undertaken as part of the study. This investigation adopted a variant of a Constructivist approach. These influenced both data collection and analysis related activities. They also permitted an in-depth understanding of the perceptions, cultural constructs and attitudes that impact upon gender diversity management within Nigeria and the complex relationship between culture and legislative efforts to eradicate gender discrimination within the employment sector throughout the country. The choice of methodological approach provided opportunities for in-depth examination of factors that work within the cultural settings and hotel industry to affect gender diversity in higher management levels and WLB of female employees.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Data collected from the three selected zones is thematically presented and discussed in ways that create space for the voices of the respondents, especially the females, to be heard rather than being absorbed into the analysis. The data yielded essential observations and critical themes as well as diverse dimensions of intersectional issues that exacerbate gender diversity in the hotel industry. The major themes that emerged were masculinity and patriarchal dividends, gendered role and expectation in the hotel industry and diversity promotion and management in different ethnical zones in Nigeria. The analysis and review of the coded data presented also include some connection of different pieces of data and linked to known evidence around them.

A substantial volume of data was generated during the interviews, and selective coding was used to focus both the analysis and discussion towards providing answers to the research objectives, as well as enabling new insights to emerge. Discussions have been narrowed down to three major themes that discuss key integral elements of the research questions of the study. The three major themes are:

1. Gendered role and expectation in the hotel (with is attendant cultural pressure on women's work life balance – this is discussed as a sub-themes)
2. Hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal dividends
3. Dysfunctional promotion and gender diversity, under this you have A. Nepotism

5.2. Gendered role and expectation in hotel industry

Discussions around gender barriers in the hotel industry are largely carryovers from the households' patterns of relationship. Education is a good example a female development component that has historically affected by the household pattern of relationship. Education, which is both a fundamental human right and vital determinant of social class and social mobility (Omadjohwoefe, 2011), is an important aspect where gender-based sorting that is transferred to labour market takes place. Academic debate around education and human capital development has highlighted how education has been used as sorting machine to normalize dividing social practices and reproducing the existing stratified social class structure (Apple, 2004; Domina, Penner & Penner, 2017). It is particularly a factor that influences people's employability and career prospects. For example, the less educated staff were all in job roles such as security, cook or room service.

Interview responses yielded interesting findings around education and confirm the widely reported information in the literature about low female educational opportunities in northern Nigeria (FME, 2011; NPC and RTI International 2011; Humphreys and Crawford, 2014; Unterhalter et al. 2017). Most of the less educated respondents came from Kaduna while Lagos had a high amount of female education attendance. It is noteworthy that various research literatures believe that access to education is generally lower in Kaduna than in the Lagos and males in Kaduna had better access than females (FME, 2011; Humphreys and Crawford, 2014; Unterhalter et al., 2017). KF6 had only secondary education and considered herself to be privileged and lucky:

They don't take us equally at all because even when I was growing up in my family my dad was able to send my brother to university but not me you understand but the problem is that when it reaches the time for tertiary education my daddy didn't want to send me to school because he believed that I am a woman, and he believed that I would end up getting married to my current husband, it has not been easy for us, we are not the same and even in the society they view men to be stronger than woman they even give more right and authority to men so we are not the same at all..... (Paused), God made us the same but culture made us different at least luckily for me, I was privileged to have received college education. My younger brother was able to attend up to university level... I did not [proceed to university] because it is expensive... My mother was also sick back then, so I had to take care of her and make sure she is ok. I was the only girl, so it affected my chances of going to school back then

– KF6

In Imo, the female secondary school attendance ratio exceeds that of males and female education access is considered to be very high (FME, 2011; Humphreys and Crawford, 2014). Although there is a high ratio of female attendance in education, a respondent in Imo stated that her father gave his approval to education but her mother did not.

My dad was ok with me going to school, but my mum did not really like the idea... because she feels it is not useful because I would end up in my husband's house, so why the throw away money like that. - IF1

From personal experience and observation in the south (I am from the Southeast and lived in Lagos for a substantial part of my life), southern women do not have as

such restrictions as in the north as far as education is concerned. In fact, households may choose to send a girl to school than male because while males have started making money as early as they could to marry women of their choice, females need to acquire more education to attract men of her desire (Ezegwu, 2012). However, it is possible for less educated mothers to obstruct their daughters' education advancement after secondary education. This may be because many women (mothers) in the Southern part of Nigeria believe that the ultimate goal of a woman is to get married and start a family, thus education does not really matter. The men (fathers) in the southern part of Nigeria give their daughters the right to education. Nigeria's patriarchal system still plays a dominant role in structuring how women view themselves, even if they are given the opportunity to enhance themselves (Azodo, 2007). Chua and Fijino (1999) describe Nigeria "as a system of social structure and practices in which men dominate and women take the back seat".

Child marriage is another issue that is more prevalent in the north than the south, which affects both women's education and career advancement (Humphreys and Crawford, 2014; Gershberg et al, 2016). Many of the female respondents in Kaduna married as teenagers and were unable to advance their education.

*I grew up in the north, I am seventeen years old and I am married with two children, my husband works in the north too, I did not go to school....
I am a Muslim from birth, I have two sisters but I'm older than them, they are all married and in the same city - KF7*

*I am 20 years old, I have four children and I am a Muslim... I am married for 6years now and I work in this hotel - **KF4***

If she was allowed to go to school, **KF7** said she would have liked to become a lawyer to fight for women and girl-child education. In a cultural zone that does not attach much value to females' education, challenges in the households and family responsibilities are used as excuses to withdraw females from schools but males are allowed to continue their education (Erulkar and Bello, 2007; British Council, 2012). Female voices in Kaduna indicated their desire to be educated just as males, and that little or no education is not largely a female choice but a sociocultural phenomenon or family orientation play a massive role in restriction to education while in Lagos social structures or family orientation do not play a significant role in asses to female.

*As we all know, education is important, places you can't reach education will get there, so it's very important for a woman to be educated – **KF4***

In relation to labour, uneducated Nigerians are more prone to gender bias within the hotel industry, in the sense that they are not only subject to cultural inequality, but working in hospitality they are only eligible to apply for certain roles that involve more manual labour. In a study by Adebayo (2015), it was observed that education and academic qualification were primary causes of gender inequality and males were favored more in the Nigerian hotel industry because they are better qualified and had better education levels. Moreover, even with same academic qualifications, men tend to be employed and promoted more in comparison to women. Thus, education is a major aspect employed to discriminate women in the hotel industry and this results into workplace and occupational segregations in the workplace. The

World Bank (2014) laments that such gender sorting in the labour market results in much of the gender-based pay gap.

The prevailing practice of providing limited or no education for females tend to block their opportunities to acquire relevant education and trainings. Scholars have highlighted how the intersection of gender and other socioeconomic factors, including gender and location where one lives, could constitute impediments to the educational development of girls (Knodel and Jones, 1996; Lewis and Lockheed, 2006; Kazeem Jensen and Stokes, 2010). The poor educational opportunity for females is also a serious obstacle to their career development. To advance to a higher management level, females as well as males need tertiary education. However, in situations where females are denied such important criteria, their career advancement to higher management level in the hotel industry is stalled. Several participants, especially in Kaduna, mentioned the gender disparity in educational opportunities. The range of education qualifications within the hotels was quite significant, ranging from employees who had not been to school at all to those who had been educated to post-graduate level. Most of the tertiary education level educated participants had attended university in Nigeria but one of the HR Managers had been educated in hotel management in the United Kingdom before returning to employment and his family in Nigeria. **KF6** still felt that she had been particularly lucky to attend a college for further education after school, even though her younger brothers were supported to attend university. Intersectional scholars have noted, “People can experience privilege and oppression simultaneously. This depends on what situation or specific context they are in” (Hankivsky, 2014, p.3). In some cases, the lack of educational opportunities was linked to other cultural issues in Nigeria relating to expectations around the role of young females, childbirth and

marriage. Some of the female respondents in Kaduna did not go to school because they married and began child bearing early. Lack of requisite education becomes a serious obstacle. With regard to the HR Managers, all of them were educated to degree level: one in hospitality and management, one in business management, one in banking and finance, and one in management and relations. Additionally, one of the HR managers held professional qualifications in human resource management and two others had completed post-graduate hotel management studies in the U.K. Next to education are the existence of both convergence of household practices and regulation of females' freedom in the hotels. Gendered division of labour was evident in the data and respondents largely noted that role distributions are the responsibility of the managers.

Women are cooks and women are cleaners. Men work in the security department. The manager does not accept a woman in the security department; maybe he thinks women cannot do that – IF5

The manager is a man he cannot give a woman the same job as a man. We the men are made by God to do the hard job. If they need something heavy to be done in the hotel they call the man not the woman because we the men have the power to do hard jobs not the women. So I think that explains everything - LM6

It depends on the kind of person, for instance he can't place a lady to be at the security post in such environment, he would prefer a man to be at the security post, so the person's look and appearance will determine what post the person need to be placed - IF3

Women work in the hotel but they are not given the same [responsibilities as men], we are not working the same department so the man has his

*own role to play and the woman also has his own role to play in the hotel... they don't do the type of our job [floor person], they can't do it... My Manager distribute the job by giving it the right sex people, a male has his own job a female has her own job so I think the women in the hotel do a lot of cooking and cleaning while the men do other types of job like the one I am doing - **LM3***

*The manager believes women are not supposed to do some job like, he believes men should do better jobs... He distributes jobs in a very unfair way... I mean I see no sense in giving a job to a person that has little or no experience in the job while there is educated and experienced woman for the job simply because he feels she is a woman and she does not have the right to get the job – **IF8***

Managers and human resource officers interviewed also corroborated the notion and claim that they distribute jobs based on gender. For some of them, the capacities included the physical abilities and strong male versus weak female narratives that permeate the local gender roles divisions in the society.

If you look around the hotel, you would notice men are represented in a man's job while women are represented in a woman's job. So I think in that aspect I try to keep it balanced... What I mean is this, when I am employing my staff I try to employ them based on the ability and capability to carry out the job so in that way I would have a gender diverse workforce... based on their look based and their experience, based on their sex which is most important. I cannot take a male applicant for a cooking job seriously. And the answer is simple women have been trained to be cooks all their lives, so they know what food

*flavors go for what and they know how to cook very well... Listen, I have managed this hotel since it was built for a long time and things have been going on smoothly here without such recording and monitoring of gender diversity. I told you in the start of this interview, a man's job is a man's job same as a woman's job is a woman's job. I cannot employ a woman to be a security in this hotel. The customer would not feel safe and it's a stupid thing to do. Women are not built to be strong and protective they are built to be soft and caring. Now we are in Nigeria where our cultures play a massive role in our daily lives. I don't see any woman in her right senses would like to apply for a security job.... Our culture work just fine for us - **LM4***

The claim that males cannot effectively do 'females' job and vice versa, seems to be a lid that covers more tricky truths. The hotel managers are consciously or unconsciously playing the cultural and traditional gender politics to attract more customers, in addition to the fact that they take such decisions based on their cultural influences:

*As an educated manager as myself, I am expected to sound western by giving a man and a woman same job opportunity in my hotel. I should or better still I am expected to have same point of view of a woman and a man begin the same. I am expected to give same job opportunity I give to a man to a woman because that's what makes me a good manager. While am sorry, my culture is my culture, my job is my job and I manage the hotel the best way possible which is what I am doing at the moment - **LM4***

A man can also do this job, it is just that in an environment like this the people coming in prefer women attending to them because of their dressing, their style, the way they attend to them so they prefer the ladies... [she stopped and whispered] You know Igbo men like their women attending to them..... Laughs - IF3

I think my looks [got me this job] because I am an attractive woman, I think the fact that I was working in the same environment in the past made it very easy for me to be able to get the hotel job, I think the manager was looking for a friendly, good looking lady to work in the bar team, so that the customers can feel at home and make purchase of any food and drink they need in the hotel - IF3

In response to a question whether the customer service job was only for females, **IF1** replied “*not really but most people that came for the job interview were mostly women because the job fits into a woman’s job*”. This suggests that there already exists some kind of workplace mentality that females should apply for certain jobs while males apply for some others. **KM4** explains that hotel managers give females only jobs the management feels females “can handle the jobs”. This possibly sustains the belief that only females should apply to certain jobs and as well relates to the cultural roles expatiations in the society. These are some of what respondents said:

I work only with woman in the cooking department; men don’t work in this side of the hotel. Women cook.... My manager is Igbo and... based on tradition cannot give a woman a man’s job, even if the women is good for the job or better than the men in doing the job, my manager would still give the job to the man - IF6

We are all men that work here in the security. How would it look if a woman is guiding the gate? What can a woman do? Can they fight thieves off when they come? They cannot even open the gate because it would be heavy for them to carry... A man is the only person that can carry this gate to open it more than 10 times a day a woman no fit do this... The manager knows what he is doing regarding this job. Women are not made to do jobs that are hard because they do not have power to do this type of job. How would the hotel have cleaning job, cooking job that are woman job and give them to a man, it would not work well now... I feel the woman in the hotel should just remaining in the kitchen and doing the cleaning that's what I think they should be doing in the hotel. -

KM3

We all ladies in the customer service but, mostly, men are supervisors in the hotel... the men work in the fix-it department while the women work is the caring / providing department... the fix-it department means men are viewed as individual that fix things, so my manager employs men to do the hard jobs like gardening, driver, supervising and manning the gate, while women do the cleaning, washing, cooking and such others. Our culture view women to do these things. I would like to be a hotel driver you know but my manager would never give me that offer simply because our society views female divers are hard women who do not know their culture and traditions - IF1

According to Adib (2003), female employees are more in number and are concentrated in certain levels of employment in the hotel industry. This was confirmed by interview responses:

*We are like 6... but we are like all women... As I told you before women are good cooks, they cook very well and man cannot cook as them even the hotel-cooking job makes it easier – **KF3***

*The fact that I am a woman actually helped me because you know being a woman in a hotel they prefer more women than men because of their customer more women work in hotel the men. If you see you would notice is mostly women u see walking around the hotel and wearing there work uniforms - **KF6***

There is always a job in the hotel for a woman, clean, cook, attend to customers there is always something for a woman to do here in the hotel.
- LF1

*I work with seven room service workers, all female no male, I worked in this section of the hotel but our supervisor is male though the rest of us are female.... - **IF8***

*I feel that my manager gives the more order of food to the women in the hotel, the cooking department he feels sometimes that giving me the job don't just feel so right but he does give me the cooking job when the hotel is extra busy to be honest with me so you. But I think other departments have mixed workers but the welcome team doesn't have male workers because it's better for a woman to work in the team. It is made up from cute looking ladies to attract the men into the hotel you understand – **LM1***

Respondents' experiences in Imo and Lagos suggest existence of some 'gender discordance', a situation where males work in the 'female oriented departments. Males who attempt to do 'female jobs' would have to struggle with

'tinkered masculinity' and possibly lose their 'masculine respects' as observed during the interviews:

I think the problem I have working with the women is that they tend to overlook the fact that a man is working with them in the hotel so they feel it is embarrassing for a man like myself to be doing a job that they do. So they tend to give me a hard time at work. They kind of don't communicate with me often they tend to have a better relationship among themselves compared to me in the hotel so we don't get along so well. In the cooking department we have five women working there in the department at the moment, I am the only dude - LM1

I don't have a problem with working with only females in the hotel. It's easy to work with women in the same place than to work with men in the hotel. If a man is working with us in the hotel he might not feel comfortable and he might feel like he is doing a woman's job, you know men are manly in nature and they always want to feel like they are above the women in any aspect. I feel if a male staff was working with us he might not feel comfortable and free to work. I also feel that if a man is working with us here he would like to be given respect and we might not be free to speak to him in a way that we feel like... So it's better that there is a separation between the both of us and all - IF4

I think the cooking department has the highest number of women same as the cleaning and the room service the other departments have mostly men in them... We mostly employ men in areas like security, car wash and so on. The women in the north here would not be happy to work where they would always be in contact with men so it is always good to

employ them where they would feel happy to work in... If you look at the past job experience of these women, it is mostly domestic job that they can do very well, or that they have done in the past – KM 4

There is a widely held belief among respondents that males and females should not do similar work. These beliefs pervade managers' role distribution, as earlier explained. Echoing this view, the respondents suggest that the situation runs very deep and might be very tricky to deal with. Again, the views reflect similar gender roles at the household level with a notion that it should be maintained at workplaces. An underlying reason for this is summarized by **KM3** comment:

It is even very wrong to put both of them in the same place. A man can never be the same thing like a woman they are different, so different. A woman make children for her husband a husband provide for the children the woman make for him. So why would you be asking me if they are the same they are not the same and would not be the same – KM3

Similarly, interview responses suggest that there exists a gender role definition and division that is largely influenced by societal perspectives on gender roles in the home front. This was largely reflected in two ways. Firstly, both male and female respondents felt the need for positions that reflect their gender roles they play at home. Secondly, hotel managers largely distribute responsibilities in line with the socially accepted gender roles for males and females. The implication of this is that females find it difficult to advance beyond the social expectations and even when they attempt to break away, they are largely hindered by the unwritten rules of gender roles. This was reflected in the respondents' views:

When I cook in the hotel I get a lot of compliments from the customers, when they ask who made the food and all the customers are shocked to find out that it's a man. You know in Nigeria cooking is not a man's job, it's a woman's job according to the old viewpoint they have in Nigeria. They feel cooking is a woman thing it is a cultural thing about women and what is for them but I studied cooking in the collage of education, I also went for some cooking training to add to what I already know. – LM1

Growing up in my house, my mother would always ask me to follow her to the kitchen to make family dinner and she always tell me to clean my brothers room while my brothers were there doing nothing, playing around...My mom worked at the hospital, My mom always made me to feel like it was the girls responsibility to do those things not a guy's job so that was difference I'm speaking about... I don't really like the fact that I was being told to do all those things but yet again what can I do, if you tell my brothers to do them they would not even know what to do or how to do it, so I think it's best for me to do it, my mom won't be angry at me - LF1

One of the ways gender practices directly affect women's career development and gender diversity in the hotel is through cultural restrictions for females. This was particularly a phenomenon observed among Kaduna respondents. Respondents in other states did not talk about obvious restrictions on them but there were subtle gender practices that covertly did so as discussed earlier. For example, in Kaduna, females said they were restricted from working on night shifts and were required to dress in certain ways. Such restrictions tend to obstruct their freedom to take up

certain responsibilities and gain some skills or work to their fullest capacity, which will provide opportunities for their promotion and career advancement.

*I work as a cleaner mind you not a room service... I work full time in the hotel, I don't do night shift here.... In the hotel in this side of Nigeria women don't work night shifts, we have to cover up our hair or dress down to the leg, men do night shifts but women don't... women should be in her husband's house tending to the family - **KF4***

Interview responses highlight conscious gender segregation in employment. Females are not employed in certain positions. Advertisements often explain clearly the particular gender wanted for most positions in the hotel. Scrutiny and often frowned at in the society:

*The manager was looking for a lady to occupy the customer service position; we ladies speak softly and are very approachable. So I felt the fact I was a woman gave me an advantage to the job – **IF2***

*Women are employed to do certain jobs and if you are to get a step higher job you are expected to have twice what a man has to be able to get that job you are looking for – **LF1***

*I have to prove to the CEO twice why I should get the job, first my age was against me the first time I applied for the job then, the fact that I am a women again that was another factor... Women who do not have the connection like I do work so hard to prove themselves twice that they can do the job requested from them, so jobs are distributed based on education which most women don't have, working experience which most don't have - **IF7***

*When I applied for the cooking job, the hotel manager had to test my ability for it, because they feel that a man cannot do the cooking even after I made the food they had to test the food, they had to tell me what more to cook to be sure I can actually cook to be honest. So that was it, it was difficult to prove I could cook because cooking is mostly done by a woman in the hotel not a man - **LM1***

The data show that it appears challenging to achieve gender diversity in the hotel industry because managers who operate with cultural mindsets about gender roles divisions handpick workers in hotels. This was generally reported in Kaduna, and less reported in Lagos. Such incidence was reported in Imo but not as widely as in Kaduna. Such 'hand-picking employment' also worked alongside personal connections with the hotel managers rather than qualifications. In this regard, even if females have relevant education and experience, they may still not be employed if they lack relevant connections and 'qualifications' to be handpicked. In situations where managers believe in constructed gender roles, s/he will choose people to fit into the gender stereotyped positions that could work against female advancement.

More respondents in Lagos than any other place mentioned that their qualifications and experiences helped them secure their jobs. While many of them added their contacts and connection as factors that contributed in helping them get their jobs, they emphasized their qualifications and experiences:

I would say my educational qualification, my job experience and importantly the fact that they needed a more experienced man to manage a big hotel like this. The owner of the hotel goes to the same

church as myself so that made the process easy but he knew I was the man for the job - LM4

The gender role divisions in the hotel connected to the traditional patterns of regulating females. In Lagos, it appears professional experience was an important factor above religious and cultural affiliation. More respondents in Lagos than any other state stated that their qualifications, appearance and experiences were major issues of consideration in their employment:

My experience I have before in my previous work got me this work not only that but because I am a woman, I am beautiful I am attractive... I think it is based on what you as a woman can do and what you can bring to the table as a man - LF1

I had to prove to the hotel management that I can cook because it is not ordinary seeing a man that cooks in Nigeria. But I think my work more, like my food, was able to speak for itself. So my experience and my food spoke for itself and all. So yea experience and my food – LM1

From the least person in the organization to what you consider the highest we look we look at their qualifications, we look at their adaptability, we look at their appropriateness and looks – LM2

However, like other locations there were also comments from some respondents that suggest that some employees in Lagos got their jobs through private links with the manager and others who the hiring manager was more comfortable with because they were somehow tribally related:

...my tribe as a Yoruba person, the manager I met there was a Yoruba man, and it was just easy before me after we spoke for sometimes the next thing he ask was where are you from and I said Ogun state and he said

wow that the mother is from Abeokuta and he said haha! that means we are related in Ogun state and Abeokuta and though he was like let's see another person he say Ibo, Hausa and he felt I have an hometown person that he should have the job and I think my tribe also helped me in getting the job – LM5

My friend who helped me get this job, he saw their vacancy and I think he actually spoke to the manager and explained to him why I needed this job... actually got the job through a person that knows the manager... it is not like I'm qualified for the job ... I feel sometimes the manager considers giving the job to his tribe first before the omo Igbo [an Igbo person] - LF3

Regulation and use of female bodies to advance patriarchal capitalist objectives is discussed later in this chapter. At this point, it is important to quickly highlight in-house hotel regulation of what women wear at work. Such regulations are not done in the interest of the women but to largely for business purposes. May female respondents complained about their uniforms being so uncomfortable to work with, much of this complaint also came from Kaduna respondents. Below are some of what the said about their work clothes.

The uniform here, my husband feels the uniform is not good for a married woman. The uniform is too open but I work in the kitchen and no one sees me so I don't mind - IF6

Women in the north should not come out to work at all. Look around, how many women do you see walking outside? We are even doing the interview in the kitchen area, do you know why? Because I cannot come out outside, I don't have my head covered fully and my dress is not that long so I cannot come outside. This place is north, and the teachings and

our tribe believes we must cover our body well enough, before any woman comes outside, she would make sure she covers her body well. She should not even be alone without her husband by her side; that is what most men here think. So tell me, how do you think they will see a woman working here in the hotel? They will look at us as bad women, walahi. Hotel is not place for any Muslim woman to be, gaskia - KF7

The work uniforms, it is too formal. I feel it should look a bit more fun like the men's uniform. Ours is too formal and very covered simply because we ladies do not mean we should cover up and look like a turkey –IF1

I don't like covering my hair but the manager made it compulsory because he feels most customers here are from the north. So I cover my hair... And another thing is the uniform is so uncomfortable and it is not conducive working in such uniform you know. But I have to do it. - KF5

My family don't mind [my working in hotel kitchen where people do not see me] as long as I dress well and cover my body and I don't disrespect my husband - KF3

5.2.1 Cultural norms and Work life balance

In this section, the terms “work–life balance” (WLB) and “work–family balance” are taken together in order to capture both private and family life issues of females that conflict with their work, profession and/or career outside the home. Some scholars use both terms interchangeably (Greenhaus and Allen, 2011; Lyness and Judiesch, 2014). While focus on the “family” alone might narrow discussions such as this to family-related and caregiving responsibilities, focusing only on “life” might miss important household responsibilities that actually envelop the females’ thoughts,

beliefs and private activities. Besides, intersectionality perspective believes that "inequities are never the result of single, distinct factors. Rather, they are the outcome of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences" (Hankivsky, 2014, p.2). Michie and Nelson (2006) explain work-life balance as issues that are important to the lives of the female workers, particularly when the work roles conflict with demands of work-home roles. Such cultural responsibilities affect women's ability to cope at work and at home. **IF6** noted that while her husband relaxes after work and enjoyed the food she cooked, she returned home to prepare her children for school the next day, cook food for her household, clean the house and was weak most of the time when she got to work the next day but she had no choice because she was a woman and a wife. According to **KF4**, *"I try even when I am tired to do my very best to make it work very well... so other women would not come and take my husband away from me"*. A similar observation was made in a study by Chovwen (2007), found that women indicated that work-family conflict, such as child-bearing and taking care of husband and children amongst other things, inhibited career progress of women in male-dominated environments in Nigeria. In another study by Cha (2013), the findings emphasized that increased work responsibilities in the workplace affected women's family obligations, and this had negative effects on women career development in the workplace.

Married women and those with children were not the only ones affected by jobs and cultural responsibilities. Unmarried females also faced challenges that were related to WLB. **LF5** narrated that being a woman affected her in different ways. While she was unmarried, she still had the responsibilities of taking care of her father,

preparing his meals before he returned from work, preparing breakfast for the next day and often ended up coming to work late. She added *“I don’t have a choice it’s a responsibility. I have to do because I am the only girl in the family”*. Martin and Barnard (2013) observed that single women with no children were also affected as they have to perform culturally prescribed duties at home such as taking care of sister’s or brother’s children or their parents. **LF1** told her story:

*My mom always made me to feel like it was the girls’ responsibility to do those things not a guy’s job so that was difference I’m speaking about... I don’t really like the fact that I was being told to do all those things but yet again what can I do, if you tell my brothers to do them they would not even know what to do or how to do it, so I think it’s best for me to do it, my mom won’t be angry at me - **LF1***

As career-orientated women do all the cooking, shopping, childcare and housework, they experience role overload as well as work-life conflict (Mostert, 2009). The role and responsibility of managing the household and raising children continues to be fall disproportionally to women even in the post modernism society, and this has been a major impediment to their WLB and career and progression.

Possibly, scarcity of relevant role models for females may be another challenge. Some scholars are in agreement that lack of models and mentors in the hotel industry remains a major issue as to why women do not progress career wise (Martin and Barnard, 2013; Njiru, 2013). For instance, Njiru (2013) established that absence of female mentors made it hard for young females to progress because they lack protectors who could provide support for their career growth. Thus, a key impairment to female advancement in the hotel industry is the absence of

organisational as well as career mentors and coaches. The interviewed highlighted numerous problems linked with the problem of mentoring including the fact that the number of women as mentors were fewer, and that overbearing' male bosses in the workplace affected the function and their productivity. Women find it harder to get a mentor, compared to their male colleagues.

The study data shows that is largely the parents that play such critical role and largely constituted respondents' role models. Households play a important roles in sustaining patriarchy and male dominance. Many of the respondents were also happy to carry on with the roles they learnt from their parents, which were largely along the culturally assigned gender roles whether at home or at the workplace. As parents significantly influence females' world views and career choice, many respondents made it clear that they were following their parents' footsteps. **IF2** and **IF6** specifically emphasized their desires to continue in the tradition of their mothers. **IF6** indicated:

My mum is my role model because she taught me endurance in marriage and how to be a cultured woman, you have to endure... I have to endure some rules my husband gives me as regards to working in a hotel but I really do not like this rules, because they do not make me work happy, or help me to do my best working in the hotel, but I don't have a choice. I am married - IF6

The roles played by parents in sustaining the existing patriarchal structure were prominent. Many males described their fathers as their role models while many females described their mothers as their role models. A striking issue about this is how they expressed happiness in keeping to the tradition and sustaining male

dominant religious and cultural views they learnt from their parents, which influences their work lives and careers:

My mum is my role model because she taught me endurance in marriage and how to be a cultured woman, you have to endure... I have to endure some rules my husband gives me as regards to working in a hotel but I really do not like this rules, because they do not make me work happy, or help me to do my best working in the hotel, but I don't have a choice. I am married -. -IF6

My father was my role model because he was a priest in the mosque and I have to look up to him... My dad was a very good man, he teaches us the messages of Allah and never allowed the modern world to affect the children or the wife and the family. As a father he brought us up, taught us as children how we can take care of our family – LM3

Where I came from, a woman should have understanding, helpful and care for her husband and husband family. My mum took care of my dad and also worked hard. So that is why I said my mum is my role model – IF2

Role models have the capacity to shape people's outlook, career choice, key life decisions and acceptance of certain values. Tradition also plays an important role in shaping respondents perspectives on males and females. The tradition specifies different gender roles and expectations for males and females. Parents play a critical role in sustaining this tradition of gender inequality:

*Well, I don't have an option because this is my tradition and I can't go against my tradition, so I accept whatever my tradition say – **KF7***

*Listen from the starting of life till now. Men are workers women are not workers. So that is what our fathers taught us. All this new culture they are bringing into Nigeria that a man and a woman should be the same it would never work in Nigeria here - **LM6***

Scarcity of positive motivators to encourage women to push for more opportunities through education and training, as well as lobbying for gender equality and rights have been observed (Makama, 2013). With the lack of enough motivators amongst themselves, the women generally lose the motivation to go for a higher position than the one they already hold. This scenario, together with the traditional patriarchal social plan, results in women getting comfortable with the status quo in the hotel and not pushing for more. They tend to be more comfortable with the domesticated jobs in the hotel (Okotie, 2008). As such, they end up being stuck in one career or position for many years or even until retirement, unlike their frequently progressing male counterparts.

Another manifestation of cultural norm as obstacle to women's career advancement, and also a striking difference across the cultural zones, is the state of women's freedom to work in the hotel and the freedom to select any shifts they want. Women in Imo and Lagos relatively enjoyed freedom of movement and freedom to join the hotel workforce without approval from their spouse than respondents in Kaduna, who required a male member of the household to escort her to work and were not expected to stay outside the home beyond 4pm. Nowhere else was this observed

other than Kaduna. Female respondents in Kaduna mentioned that it was an obstacle to their freedom to work and advance in their career:

Women are not allowed to come out and do things, they are expected to hide inside the house and not be seen by other men, it is more of a taboo for a woman to go out and do things she is expected to do and all, it is just like that... women are not allowed to work in the north and other people would be looking at my husband as an irresponsible man and a weak man

- KF5

This is north, and the teachings and our tribe believe we must cover our body very well. Before any woman can go outside, she would make sure she covers her body very well. She should not even be alone without her husband by her side that is what most men here think. So tell me, how do you think say they will view a woman working here in the hotel? They see us as bad women. Hotel is not a place for any Muslim woman to be, gaskia (truelly) - KF7

Regulation of female's public appearance and working hour is another critical observation from the data. Before the study, I had some understanding of how women are regulated and controlled in northern Nigeria. In my high school, female students were not allowed to eat and interact with the opposite sex during school hours. We were also given a curfew while the boys were allowed to stay out late. I did not envisage that even working women had an insufficient amount of time to work in the hotel. A Kaduna respondent, who was very much afraid to talk about it, mentioned that "the manager has to give the same working time to all woman staff in the hotel which is 9 am and 4 pm the rest day because; women are not expected to be outside their house at that time, so that

is the problem I'm having". To avoid losing her job or being punished by either her husband or the hotel management, she was so scared to say this that she was unwilling to have the statement attributed to her despite the promise that her name would not be made public. This highlights how much females are afraid to speak out or challenge various forms of stereotypes going on mostly in Kaduna. **KF5** used to work in Lagos; when she moved to Kaduna, she was willing and "free to work any shift anytime I want" but the Kaduna hotel "feels there are shifts for women and the other for men, the night shifts are mostly for men and the day shifts are mostly for women", which limited her opportunity to work anytime she wanted, while the Imo female worker used to work day and night shift but was restricted by her family. A critical drawback to female career progression in the hotel industry is households' expectations of females. Different family expectations for males and females contribute to influence females' choice and career paths. While males might be free to work anywhere and in any field of work, females do not have such liberty. Women in Kaduna noted that her family was not in support of the idea of her working in the hotel but she is in the hotel because of the economic situation of the country. This suggests that if she had different opportunities, she might have chosen to work elsewhere and contributing to lower the number of females and their opportunities in the hotel as existing data suggest.

Parents and members of households make various efforts to prevent their female members from working in the hotels, partly because they do not like it and partly because of concerns regarding what other people might say about their families. For example, **KM3** mentioned that he has worked in the hotel for

“a long time”, but he strongly feels it is very wrong for females to work in the hotel:

*I look at them as people that are not good women; I look at their husband as bad people. I think it should be only men that would be working in the hotel. It should not be woman - **KM3***

While such views consider females working in the hotels as bad, they do not feel the same for males. Female respondents noted that:

*As a woman, you just have to make up with a decent work you know to men out there they think every women working in the hotel they are bad but it is not like that, it depends on the woman - **KF4***

*I feel they [her family] will be worried because of what people might think. Some might think they are not well trained or so. Like how can a young girl unmarried be [working in the hotel]... you get it? They may think your parent did not train you well at all - **KF5***

*My family, they do not care about it, they see it— as they think, I’ve gone wayward because they think as I’m working in an hotel as maybe I’m into prostitution - **LF3***

Based on societal views of women working in the hotel, women tend to prefer working in positions where visitors to the hotel do not see them. They hide in the kitchen and avoid public spaces, and are unable to take promotions into positions that bring them into public spaces.

*People view a woman that works in a hotel, as a spoilt lady who does not have home training. So most women that I know that works here would prefer to take the cooking jobs, or cleaning jobs or room service were no one can see them always - **IF6***

*I think it [female working in hotel] is bad, they don't see it as a good thing at all, but if my husband is not complaining I don't care, but I work where people don't see me, so they don't even know if a woman is working in the hotel or not – **KF3***

*It is not easy seriously, because anytime I go out there the way people look at me, even my parent/in-law when I told them I am working in an hotel, the way they looked down on me because they believe that people working in an hotel are prostitute, that we look so dirty - **KF6***

At this point, it may be concluded that culturally idealized male and female roles, characterization, gender and power relations appear negatively oriented, hindering rather than promoting females career progression and WLB in the industry. Such hindrances are manifest in the norms and cultures that discourages female employment in the industry and also overloads women with household responsibilities that make working outside the home unbearable, conflicting with the demands of hotel jobs, including working night shifts and attending to customers without being labelled 'prostitutes'.

Culturally idealized feminine characters and social expectations also limit females' career progression. Some of the respondents expressed their willingness to submit to her father or husband's wish not to seek career promotion. Married females across cultures suggested that their husband might oppose their promotions while the unmarried women felt that it might constitute a challenge to their marriage opportunities:

I don't even want to get a bigger job, I mean it's a good thing but as a woman I feel you should not try to make more money than your

*husband... In my culture women are not supposed to be more rich than men. It is not right - **KF3***

*I feel my dad might feel a certain way because he would think no man would like to marry a woman who makes more money than him in the hotel I think personally I would go and do what I feel like without telling him but if he knows he might not feel comfortable with it because it might make my chances of getting married slim, naturally Nigerian men don't like women who makes more money than them and they feel intimidated by that – **LF1***

*I applied for a receptionist job, but the salary was higher than my husband's salary, which is not a good thing in our culture because he is the head of the family, so my husband decided I work as a cook where the pay is a little less. Secondly, my husband doesn't like me working night shifts although the hotel pays more but he does not like the idea. If my manager is lacking staffs and he wants me to work at night, he calls my husband to inform him, that I would be working late night and I don't have a choice, when this happens it brings a lot of problems at home because I cannot meet up with my responsibility at home its becomes too stressful for me. I don't mind the cooking job cause it that my husband wants so am okay with it – **IF6***

Many females had to choose between their family responsibilities and working in the hotel. For those that worked, they had to submit to limitations and conditions given by their husbands for working in the hotels, work within the scope approved by their husbands and also had to work hard to meet both household responsibilities and job demands. Within the hotels, managers were

wary of employing married women for several reasons, including religious considerations, needing to confirm with their husbands and concern about maternal leave:

Marriage as I told you is a major distraction to grow in this industry... For them females] to been able to work without going of long breaks for giving birth.... - IF7

I wanted to get the receptionist job, but my husband never wanted that so I accepted the cooking job. Tradition views women as cook this is what we were trained to do by our mothers, so me been a woman was what contributed in me getting this job - IF6

One of the challenges associated with the culturally idealized roles for males and females in the hotel industry is the difficulties females experience in balancing life and work. The households and community expectations of females put lots of burdens and pressures on them working in the hotel industry. Those who try to balance both family and work life or desire to deliver quality services at the workplace find themselves drained and stressed out and sometimes had to live pretentious and false lives. Respondents narrated:

My husband already knows, I am full with excuses, just making up stories. I try to do my duties as a wife so another women would not come and take my husband away from me in the future so I try even when am tired I do my very best to make it work very well, making sure my husband it always happy with me, sometime I sleep at work because doing the house job and the hotel job is very stressful for me – KF4

My husband just comes home and relaxes most time with food ready for him, I come home to get the kids ready for the next school day, cook food for the house and also clean the house too. Most times I am always weak at work the next day and all. But I don't have a choice - IF6

You know I come to work very late every day because of the fact that I have to take good care of my children and to send them to school too and it affect how the manager sees me sometimes I have to ask for leave from work to take care of my children when they are not feeling fine and they are sick. My husband sometimes asks for my attention at home. I have to go to the market to buy food. It is so much work to do at a time. As a woman there is so much I have to do and work - KF4

Seriously it has been difficult for me because you know it is not just one child but two children.... It affects what I have to do at work and does not give me enough chance to work as much as I want - KF6

When females do not meet the expectations, they face serious consequences, which could range from verbal and physical abuse to divorce:

He felt that my taking a job in the hotel means I would be sleeping around... Also you know working in a hotel as a woman would look like you are a useless wife and I think that was why my husband was angry about it.... He felt that my job was affecting my duties, as a wife back then and I could not do the things that I am expected to do as a mother and a wife... He stressed me a lot at home and it started affecting my job. I came to work unhappy and not motivated to do my job. And I mostly come with injuries around my body and sometimes the manager would send me home as unfit to work. And the day off is taken out of my

*pay... I spoke to him about this in countless of time but he would not buy the idea, so we started having issues in the house about me coming home late from work. He complained here and there so we just decided it was best we called the whole marriage off - **LF2***

The intersecting gender and cultural issues in the above context produced a distinct kind of pressure and burden for Kaduna Female 4, resulting in her living “multiple, layered identities derived from social relations, history and the operation of structures of power” (Symington, 2004, p.2). The story is different for males because they push housework and childcare to women in order for them to concentrate on their work but females have no one to push the work to. Some of the males described their privileged positions in relation to work. **LM3** said his job did not have any effect on him and he did not have challenge with career progression because his wife was responsible “the whole issues at home that is why she is there”. The privileged positions of males in the society speak more about hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal structure of the society:

*The challenge is that if I want to come outside, I know as a Muslim, I’m expected to cover my body every time but wearing this long uniform as a cook is not comfortable at all because my hand and feet is all covered and I find it difficult to work easily. The uniform sometimes it gets into the foot but I cannot do anything about it simply because I am not worthy to tell manager about my work uniform. He will look at me somehow walahi (by God)... He will think I am not a good woman for desiring to expose my body to the world. Listen, the uniform is not comfortable for someone to work with, I’m only telling you this because you promise say you will not reveal my name - **KF7***

Religion intersects with culturally idealized gender positionalities to severely restrict women's progression in the hotel industry. It weakens gender diversity efforts by making females believe they must never challenge gender stereotypes but should submit to their subjugated conditions stipulated by male dominated and male-favored religious ethos. On the other hand, it empowers males and managers of patriarchal institution (including the hotel industry) in which even female managers work to sustain the male dominance and ensure that the culturally idealized gender characteristics continue to work in the same way that ensured male dominance in both private and public spheres.

*I work full-time starting from Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, I don't work Friday because that is praying day for me... I don't work nights because husband don't like night job, he doesn't like me to work night job, as a Muslim woman I am not expected to work night job in the hotel. Personally, I don't mind working at night job, but manager wont give me night because he is a Muslim too. He does not like his fellow Muslim sister to do night job that is against the preaching of Allah. So I can't ask for night job because he does not....so that he will not report me to my husband, you understand? – **KF7***

*I think men are superior than women... My reason is because, the fact am a Christian, on the day of creation, God made man for us and took one rib out of the man to make a women, so that has shown a sense of superiority so, god knows what he was doing when he made man and woman in the creation – **LF4***

I am a man and as God made it, I am made by God to provide money for my wife to cook for the family. I mean I work as a gate man in a hotel that

*is not bad because I am a man. I don't see anything wrong in me working in a hotel. But for a woman I don't think it looks good to be working in a hotel. If I have a daughter I would not allow her to work in a hotel. She should be at home learning how to take care of her family when she marries. She can work anywhere but not in a hotel. She would start learning how to sleep around and all this bad things they do in the hotel. My wife cannot even work talk more of working in a hotel cause she would not have time for work she has enough work already which is taking care of her family. So that is it - **LM6***

*Our mother cooks food at home for us; she stays at home and takes care of the children... My mother does not have any job than to sit down at home as a Muslim in Quran says a wife should be at home helping out with the family matters like taking care of the children and the rest. So as a Muslim, it is not allowed for a woman to work so my mother was always at home... I am married and my wife name is [withheld], she is at home – **LM3***

*Yes I think it is according to the teaches of Allah, and all the good things he has taught us to do, so it isn't good for a woman to work in a place where men would be seeing them every time – **KF4***

The impact of the intersection of religion, culture and gender is no doubt debilitating to female career advancement and WLB. Intersection of gender and cultural/religious factors work together with personal connection to determine what gets what job. While this was observed in all locations, it was much emphasised in Kaduna. Many of the respondents mentioned that they were handpicked for their connections with education playing lesser roles. IF 7 clearly

stated that she got job because of her connection with the owner of the hotel who was her father's friend. Similarly, KF 7 stated that the hotel manager was her husband's friend while Lagos Male 3 mentioned that his friend helped her to get the job even though she had only Senior Secondary School Certificate. Kaduna Male 4 added a new term "godfather" that helped him secure his job and many other respondents had similar stories to tell. The incidence of 'godfatherism' is a well-known phenomenon in Nigerian politics indicating a patron-client relationship. Using such term in the hotel sector suggests that there are influential people out there that help people secure job in hotels. It is not clear how females are able to work through such relationship to secure jobs what sort of payment or reward they offer to their patrons. It is also worth noting that personal and religious connection might work better for less qualified females looking for employment in places like Kaduna than females with requisite qualifications and experiences.

Based on the strong religious basis for employment in Kaduna as observed earlier and up to this point, it may be concluded that personal and religious connection might work better for less qualified females looking for employment in places like Kaduna than females with requisite qualifications and experiences. However, this is not peculiar to Kaduna. There were specific reference to managers belonging to same religion, tribe and speaking to same language with the employees being major factors that influenced their employments. IF 2 said "*I come from same tribe with the manager, so am already on a favourable position already and I speak the same language so makes it all easy*". Lagos Male 4 declared that the owner of the hotel went to the same church as himself which made the employment process easy for

him. KM 4 argued that gender and tribe play the most important roles in job application and acceptance in the hotel in Nigeria, especially in the North where customers would be willing to see their own type of people working in the hotel, with their “*women all covered and humble, it makes them feel at home, 80% of our customers are northerners and they need to feel comfortable in the Hotel, or they would not patronise the hotel again in future*”. Below are some of what others said:

The hotel manager is a Muslim, so we must go to the same place on Friday to worship Allah, so I ask him if he has a current place for me to work in the hotel and he said yes, and he knows I am a responsible married woman – KF 3

My tribe as a Yoruba person, the manager I met there was a Yoruba man, and it was just easy before me after we spoke for sometimes the next thing he ask was where are you from and I said Ogun state and he said wow that the mother is from Abeokuta and he said haha! that means we are related in Ogun state and Abeokuta and though he was like lets see another person he say Ibo, Hausa and he felt I have an hometown person that he should have the job and I think my tribe also helped me in getting the job – LM 5

I feel sometime the manager consider giving the job to his tribe first before the omo Igbo [an Igbo person] - LF 3

While in all the three locations, females had less opportunities to work compared to males, Kaduna was exceptionally difficult for females. There were culturally and religiously strict rules for females, which included working outside their homes unaccompanied and mixing freely with males that are not members of their households. **KF7** said that:

*Women in the north should not come out to work at all. Look around, how many woman do you see walking outside? ...Most women don't work in this city, it is not normal for women to work in this city because most of them are always meant to be indoor all the time and it is their husband that should be the one that tells them what to do every time. They should not mix with the outside world. That is the problem but nothing can be done...It affects my job greatly... this uniform, how can you wear this long thing and work in the kitchen? It is very hard and uncomfortable but I have to bear it because in my village no man is accepted to see your body apart from your husband and it is so annoying to be honest with you walahi (by God) - **KF7***

Family and social expectations and responsibilities are other factors that were observed to constitute serious obstacles to females' career progression and WLB. Particularly, a critical drawback to female career progression in the hotel industry is households' responsibilities for females. **IF4** explained:

*My husband don't really like my job but he has no right to tell me to stop the job I am doing simply because before we got married, I was a working class lady. And I also went to school. So at this point I think I am comfortable doing my job in the hotel. It might not be the case once I start having children simply because I have to do my responsibility as a new mum and I have to take care of my family. So for now am free but once the children starts coming in it might not be the same case – **IF4***

Different family expectations for males and females contribute to influence females' choice and career path. While males might be free to work anywhere, any time and in any field or work, females do not have such liberty. **IF1** noted that her family was not in support of the idea of her working in the hotel but she is in the hotel because

of the economic situation of the country. This suggests that if she had different opportunities, she might have chosen to work elsewhere and contributing to lower the number of females and their opportunities in the hotel as existing data suggest (as discussed in chapter one).

Also, whether households approved of females' work in the hotel or not, the households' duties and expectations exerted tolls on their ability to effectively perform their duties in the hotel, balance work with private life and excel in their careers, as many female respondents pointed out:

I work full time at the moment in the hotel. I work day and night time before but my mum was not comfortable with me working in the night in the hotel so I work only day shift at the moment – IF1

You know I come to work very late every day because of the fact that I have to take good care of my children and to send them to school too and it affect how the manager sees me sometimes I have to ask for leave from work to take care of my children when they are not feeling fine and they are sick. My husband sometimes asks for my attention at home. I have to go to the market to buy food. It is so much work to do at a time. As a woman there is so much I have to do and work - KF4

Seriously it has been difficult for me because you know it is not just one child but two children.... It affects what I have to do at work and does not give me enough chance to work as much as I want - KF 6

For **IF1**, it is her household (mother) that was the obstacle but for **KF4** and **KF6** they had household responsibilities that made them almost ineffective. Shrestha (2016) argues that obstacles to females' career development are not some internal factors like their own motivation, education and skill levels but they are external factors that

relate to their household education and employment. Women with families, for example, are encumbered with households' responsibilities that slow their upward movement as they struggle to effectively meet demands of their families and jobs. "Thus, many working women choose jobs that will allow them the flexibility to manage their household duties and do not require them to put their career above family" and face critical challenges balancing both family and job demands. Such struggles and demands from both families and organisations often "become detrimental to both working women and their organisations that fail to tap the full potential of these experienced women, thereby becoming less productive themselves" (Shrestha, 2016, p.8).

Males are culturally not restricted from working in hotels while females working in hotels are seen as prostitutes as many respondents mentioned. **KF4** notes, "*As a woman, you just have to make up with a decent work you know to men out there they think every women working in the hotel they are bad but it is not like that, it depends on the woman*". **LF3** said her family thought she was into prostitution because she worked in a hotel. As noted in the previous chapters, the cultural issues facing Nigerian women in the workplace, and specifically in the hotel industry, are deep-rooted and there are widespread problems that are complex to resolve. As such, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the issues with a view to ultimately identifying and evaluating solutions, it is important to consider the perspectives of individuals whose daily lives are immersed in the cultural norms and working practices of the hotels in Nigeria.

Within the hotels, interculturalism was a challenge to the management. Likewise, intersection of gender and cultural factors constitute a noticeable challenge to female workers. Unlike in the north, **IF5** claimed that their culture enables both males and females to work in same places and they enjoy their jobs. In situations where either the southern females find themselves working in northern hotels or vice versa, both the management and the females experienced some challenges:

*You and I have an idea of the recent cultural and tribal dispute going on in Nigeria between the north and the south and east. Most of them don't like working hand in hand with people from the northern part of Nigeria who are employed here in the hotel. That said I have to always make out prayer time for the Muslims who have to pray at a particular time, which makes other staff members feel that they are not treated right and equally, I have a female northern staff in my hotel she has to always cover up her hair here in the hotel, it makes the customers of the hotel feel a bit uncomfortable cause this hotel is in the southern part of Nigeria. So it's difficult managing different tribes in a hotel. The best way possible is to employ staffs of same tribe and cultural background so staff management can be easy. Nigeria is a culturally divided country and most individual feels comfortable working in a cultural environment that they grew up with. Once their contract with the hotel is finished I am planning on terminating the contract because it is affecting the image of the hotel at the moment - **LM4***

In response to whether the system is biased against women, **LM4**'s response was "no. It is not, it is more like asking me, and do I feel that our culture is

biased. That's the problem with westernization". Notwithstanding, culture is implicated in the way women are both treated and the shaping of their worldviews:

A good woman that know where she is from that knows her tradition and her mother trained her very well should not be seen close to a hotel. She should not be close to a hotel because a hotel is a place that a woman should not go to. Although they have some women working here but it's not my hotel so the manager can do, as he likes. But I don't have respect for such women that work in a hotel. I cannot even advise any of my family members to marry any woman that work or work in a hotel. So that's my own point. Ok if she is working what time would she say she has to take care of the family. You see no time at all. No time. So that said she's not a good woman - LM6

In all three cultural zones, hotels are seen as sex houses. These have serious implications to females' family life and career development in the sector. The pressure appears to differ among women of different marital status. For the married ones, they are seen as loose and unfaithful wives. The challenges for the unmarried tend to be related to their possible difficulty in attracting husbands of their choices because they were considered by some males as prostitutes and already earning more money, which suggest that they might not make a faithful, submissive and obedient wives. In response to how society views a woman working in the hotel, IF1 describes it as bad luck for the unmarried ones because hotels are viewed as "a place of fornication" where responsible women should not be working. Some of what various respondents said across the three cultural zones includes:

*My mum thinks for the fact that I am working already makes it impossible for me to get married. Men would feel like am too much of a woman and I would not be a loyal wife cause I am making my own money already. Working in a hotel gives a bad view already... my mum hates the idea as I said before she feels it's a bad luck because it places me in a position of been irresponsible and making my own money might make me never to get married - **IF2***

*It is not easy seriously, because anytime I go out there the way people look at me, even my parent/in-law when I told them I am working in an hotel, the way they looked down on me because they believe that people working in an hotel are prostitute, that we look so dirty. Even my children receive insult here and there, they are being abused and insulted about their mom that work in an hotel. I have faced a lot of thing out there but there is nothing I can do but maybe because it's the north that's why things are like this – **KF6***

*So many people that know I work here especially the elderly ones, they thinks am one of this prostitute that goes in and comes out with them. It hasn't been easy actually because even my children sometimes they will just ask me mum you say you work in an hotel but I just have to explain to them am working as a receptionist not as any other thing that is not approved by God.... the formal Nigerian society doesn't support women in achieving their major goals and aim. They feel a woman is expected to be women and it has to stay that way in the hotel – **LF4***

Notwithstanding, many of respondents, working in hotels, claim that working in hotels is not what outsiders think it is. **KF6** claimed that people *believe that customer hotel employees sleep with their customers and managers, but it is not like true.*

The first implication of being seen as working in prostitution houses is that females are under household pressure to conform to traditional 'decent female' as implied in **KF4** assertions. **KF5** explained that households discouraged females from working in hotels because of what people might say about their families. As she put it, her family was rather worried that *"some might think they are not well trained or so. Like how can young girls unmarried be [working in the hotel]? They may think your parent did not train you well at all"*. The desire of households to have a good name in the society thus becomes an obstacle for their career in the hotel. Although prostitution is common in dedicated brothels in major cities in Nigeria, the hotel industry has a reputation for involvement and according to Terfa (2001), hotel workers are known to act as pimps and to facilitate arrangements between upper class Nigerians and the prostitutes.

The second implication and challenge to females that still chose to work in the hotels are under serious pressure. The pressure comes from discriminatory forms of hegemonic masculinity that function, according to Hanke (1990) at the sphere of common sense and often influence and construct behaviour of people in manners that sustain the male power and control. For example, the unmarried females might find it difficult to marry if they work in hotels as **LM6** noted. He emphatically stated that *"I don't have respect for such women that work in a hotel. I cannot even advise any of my family members to marry any woman that work or work in a hotel"*. He maintained this view despite working in the hotel himself. He considers working in the hotel not good for females but for males he has good regard for whether they work in hotel or not and he does not see anything wrong for him as a man working in the hotel, but sees it wrong for females. This was corroborated by **KF5** who noted

that “*unmarried women find it more difficult to get married in the hotel*”. **KF5** also add that “*the married ones look at the unmarried girls [working in hotels] as if sleep around [prostitute]*”. This suggests that both males and females consider unmarried females working in hotels as ‘unmarriageable’ and such views could discourage ‘decent females’ who are desirous of marrying from applying for or accepting employment in hotels. A number of respondents, especially in Kaduna, emphasized the traditional and religious position that women ought to remain at home and should not work outside their homes, but this appears to contribute to exacerbating household poverty. Males who were unable to feed their families and send their children to schools still held on to the belief that their wives should not work or contribute to the household income:

*I don't feel I should be working, it is against our culture, more so working in a hotel but my husband feel it is not a bad idea simply because I am contributing to the family, I feel my job affect my job as a good wife because I always feel weak whenever I come back home – **KF3***

*A woman is expected not to work and all she's expected to be in her husband house and does the house work. How can I be working for money and a woman is working for money too. I mean she's expected to be in her husband's house or in her family house - **LM6***

The insistence of males on keeping the females at home despite their financial situation and its implications for their household welfare suggests that the religious and cultural influence run very deep. Their characterization of females assumes strong forces influencing people's choice, views about themselves and socioeconomic engagements. One remarkable impact of keeping women from working is financial challenges faced by households. Whatever the reason or

motivation for restricting women from taking employment outside their homes is, it affects household income and financial progress. Some of the respondents indicated that they were allowed to work when the household financial situation became very difficult and unbearable:

My husband never liked the idea of both of us doing the same job but the children needed to eat, things were becoming hard for us – IF6

I have never worked before anywhere, husband does not allow me.... My husband doesn't allow me to come out before but because Nigeria is now getting hard and... hunger became too much. I have to go work so my family can eat, husband now allows me to work in the hotel, and so, we don't have a choice. They [hotel leadership] don't like it at all but my husband explained to them and requested them to employ me because hunger wanted to kill us... But I am working in the kitchen so that no one will see me – KF7

My children are many; there is no money to send all of them to school so I allowed the boys to look for work. One is working in another hotel while the girls are going to be married soon they are not working because I know that they should be at home not in a work... they are children of Allah – KM3

Data from all the three zones suggest that women face similar influence of social structures on their achievement of work life balance but the situation was more severe in Kaduna than the other two states. In reference to job projection, mostly women in Kaduna were restricted in freedom of movement and freedom to pick any shifts they wanted. Female respondents in Imo and Kaduna highlighted that their husbands allowed them to pick up jobs in the hotel solely

on the bases of financial difficulties. Other factors that highlight subordination of females, which are discussed in subsequent sections, include access to female education, use of female body as bait in the hotels and efforts to regulate female bodies in the society in line with culturally and religiously idealized characterization of females.

Moreover, the work-family conflicts between family and work responsibilities have become a primary reason for the challenges that are faced by women. The association of marriage to where one works, even for the unmarried woman, is a pointer to limitations marriage places on women, whether married or unmarried. While married women are expected to respect husband's wishes about where she works, unmarried women are restricted by their desire to get married and are prevented to work in any field of their choices because where females work has potential to enhance or hinder marriage opportunities. The concern about marriage is a big issue because in many Nigerian societies, unmarried women are severely discriminated against. Alewo and Olong (2012, p.138) notes gender practices that keep women on married in Imo state and add that:

Most traditional societies frown at the single woman phenomenon. It is completely unacceptable to most communities for a lady to remain unmarried. The situation is even worse if the lady in question indicates that she is not ready to marry at all. She would be called all sorts of names (e.g. whore, prostitute) and would be looked upon with disdain by all. The fact that such a lady is prosperous in the work of her hands would be considered inconsequential situations where a woman has a child or children for a man or

men and ends up living alone without a man she calls a husband is not different. She would have no place in the community.

Marriage is considered very important across cultures and prevailing traditions in Nigeria (Omadjohwoefe, 2011). However, as regards females' career development, **IF7** concludes that "*Marriage to me is a distraction to be honest with you and I do not see any role it helps in any way*". Customarily, husbands assume the role of head of the family and they have full decision-making authority; women should always venerate, respect and obey their husbands (Abara, 2011). Within marriage, females are expected to submit to their husbands who dictate what they do, kind of work they engage in and how they work. Managers also work hand in hand with the husbands to ensure women remain within the scope defined by their husbands. **KF7** explains:

*He [the manager] cannot give me a better job simply because I am a woman and I should not be working at all, so why give me a better job? That would make me to be almost the same thing with my husband. It cannot happen, I know he will not, Allah... My manager gives most of job to men because they are the ones that are allowed to work in the hotel without any problem... for this place, women can only cook and clean. That's all!. That is what woman can do for this hotel - **KF7***

*Since I started working here, I always give my husband the money I make at the end of the month because he the head of the house. The manager of the hotel doesn't talk to me. If he wants me to work in the night shift, he speaks to my husband of the phone - **IF6***

These excerpts highlight how husbands and managers work hand in hand to execute the existing 'patriarchal social order' in which females are kept under

control, limited and subjugated under men's authority. This makes it hard for women to progress and the disparity between male and female employees always interrupts the working lives because of duties caring for children and preferences for marriage. Consequently, gender inequality remains a major cause of disparities in the hotel industry in terms of job allocation, career progression, and getting employed in senior positions.

Early marriage is a known issue in Nigeria and two of the young female participants provided evidence of this. **KF4** was just 20 years, she got married aged 14 and already had four children. **IF4** felt that being married did not have a direct impact on her spouse's view of her employment status, but that if in the future she were to have children, this would necessarily change her career priorities and opportunities. While **IF4**, being a Christian and living in southern Nigeria, had lesser restriction as long as she was without children. Both married and unmarried females had strict restriction even without children. **KF7** notes:

Women in the north should not come out to work at all. Look around, how many woman do you see walking outside? We are even doing the interview in the kitchen area, do you know why? Because I cannot come out outside, I don't have my head covered fully and my dress is not that long so I cannot come outside. This is north, and the teachings and our tribe believe we must cover our body very well. Before any woman can go outside, she would make sure she covers her body very well. She should not even be alone without her husband by her side that is what most men here think. So tell me, how do you think say they will view a woman working here in the hotel? They see us as bad women. Hotel is not a place for any Muslim woman to be, gaskia (truly) -

KF7

A number of questions arise here. How can women gain the needed experiences for higher positions if they are confined at home? How would they be able to manage their responsibilities at home and that of the work place and how can they lead and manage hotels if they must always be with their husband? It is worthy to reiterate, as noted in chapter one, existing ILO (2015) evidence shows that a major reason females find it very difficult to get employment or appointment in the top management jobs is because they are said to be lacking in the requisite skills and experiences. This kind of restriction not only makes it difficult for them to acquire the skills and experiences, it blocks their options and exposure. For example, **KF6** had a dream of owning a hotel.

So far it has been highlighted how hegemonic masculinity manifests in the culture and fundamentally work to suppress female's work in the hotel. Within the hotels, the culture still rears its head preventing managers from employing and promoting females due to their adherence to culturally idealised gender roles. Also managers tend to prefer employees from their own faith and culture and making it difficult for people from other faiths and culture to advance to higher management levels in hotels managed by such culture-ideologue managers. For example, a very educated and experienced Christian female employee from the southern Nigeria may be discriminated against in the northern Nigeria where managers are convinced that their guests would want to see their own – Muslim females from the north, well covered from head to toe. Thus the factors hindering females' career progression in the hotel is felt from both demand and supply side and having guest as additional monitors who help to ensure compliance by rejecting hotels that do not comply to

the unwritten gender law of the hotel in Nigeria. These factors are directly connected to gender diversity in the hotel industry.

It is worth noting that there are indications that some changes are taking place around gender relation in Nigeria. **LM4** observed that when he was younger, woman did not have freedom to tell men what to do and what not to do but this is gradually changing. His observation suggests that noticeable transformations have been taking place in gender and power relations in Nigeria. Although much still remains to be done to achieve gender equality, there has been improvements and the global effort towards ensuring gender equality is gradually influencing local practices in Nigeria. Even in the northern Nigeria, women are quietly beginning to understand the need to breaking gender barriers through education and relevant laws. For people like **LM4**, it is female rebellion against men's authority and lack of respect. For example, such men may not find anything wrong in a man taking single ladies to hotels but it would constitute an abomination for females to do so. This is even trickier in cross cultural and multi-ethnic situations.

Datta and Kotikula (2017) describe how multiple deprivations and constraints exist and underlie gender inequality widely observed in the world of work. For example, as the burden of caring for children and the elderly disproportionately rests on women, "it further segregates women into low paying, part time jobs. Part-time jobs may promote women's labor force participation, but not necessarily their access to better quality and higher paying jobs" (Datta and Kotikula, 2017, p.5).

5.2.2 Key Conclusion on research question 1

The first question this study sought to explore was related to how cultural factors affect women's career development and WLB. This question is a descriptive one and required description of how factors work to promote or hinder females' career progression and WLB in the hotel industry. Cultural contribution is negatively oriented, hindering rather than promoting females career progression and WLB in the industry.

Such hindrances are manifest in the norms and cultures that discourages female employment in the industry and also overloads women with household responsibilities that make working outside the home unbearable, conflicting with the demands of hotel jobs, including working night shifts and attending to customers without being labelled 'prostitutes'.

Similarly, there exists a fundamental control of females and use of females' bodies in the industry in the way that affects females' freedom to live the lives they have reason to enjoy and value. Religious doctrines and socialisation into the patriarchal order also contributes to strengthen male dominance, giving females the false consciousness that it is an ideal way of living. In the absence of role models, females tend not to see the reason for or fear daring to demand for change of the status quo.

From the data, it is observed that some interlinked factors work together to hinder females' career progression up to the management level. Females have relatively lower educational opportunities than males due to the differing local beliefs about females' education and; with better education, more males are likely better qualified to take up position that require higher educational qualification. Whether females are educated or not, the society and households do not expect them to work in the

hotels let alone progressing; at the same time, those that are working there find their wheels of progression clogged by demands and responsibilities within their households that make them relatively inefficient. Thus, the factors hindering females' career progression in the hotel industry is felt from both the demand and supply side and having guests as additional monitors who help to ensure compliance by rejecting hotels that do not comply to the unwritten gender law of the hotel in Nigeria.

5.3 Hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal dividends

There is a current power relation in patriarchal societies that gives advantages to males over females. Connell refers to this as "patriarchal dividend" that is "the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women" (Connell, 1987, p. 79). According to Connell, oppression works through a series of "unearned" advantages enjoyed by those who do not have a particular oppression. For example, the authority of men over women has been accomplished socially. Men are expected, in a sociocultural context, to be "risk-taking", 'adventurous', and should show lack of interest in domestic activities" while women on the other hand is responsible for taking charge of the home and should have little or no interest in seeking for jobs. The society hierarchies that have subordinated women for long have become perceived as innate. Men are regarded as 'household autocrats', who should never be questioned by their wives. The implication of this for a woman's vocation is that it remains at the mercy of men". This was caught in some of the responses:

*My wife doesn't have any say in my job because I married her not the other way round. I paid her bride price so she has to mind her business, which is taking care of my kids at home and doing other things at home... Even if she has [disagrees with my working night shift] that is none of her business... Her opinion doesn't count because she is a woman and I am a man of the house – **LM3***

*A woman is a man property; a man buys a woman from her father's house for her to build his own house. A woman is expected to cook all the time while a man is expected to eat the food a woman made. A woman is expected to give birth to children and take care of the children. While her husband goes out to get money for the family. It is a woman's job to make sure her family is okay. And make sure everything is perfect with the family and food is been kept on the table for her husband when he comes home. I also think a woman is made to understand that a man is the controller of the family and he makes the home rules. Women are brought up in my tradition in a way that they are to take care of their husbands and stay at home while the husband go out and look for what to provide for the family - **LM6***

I think a woman should know what her husband wants and try to care for him and her family simply for the sake of her husband and her husband alone that is what she is been created for... I don't think a woman should show her full potential, a woman should lower herself a bit ...I feel my husband is kind enough for allowing me work simply because in the city where I come from women are not allowed to do things for themselves they rely on what their husband brings home for them because they take

*care of their family, but my husband has been very kind to me to I understand... My husband even allowing me to work in an hotel is a grace so I cannot complain - **KF3***

*My husband is my lord, that is what I know since I was little, so anything he says that is what I do – **KF4***

*Whatever he says is final, so even if I told him I want to work in this hotel he won't allow me and if he actually want me to no problem, he is the head of the family anything he says I just have to accept it like that not like deep down that's what I want but it's a thing of am trying to keep my home in check – **KF6***

*When I married my wife, I told her that I would not want her to talk to men... and she had to adjust, I am the one that married her. - **IM1***

Working females often face severe scrutiny, restrictions and in some cases, husbands discuss wives' work with managers to ensure that she stays within limits placed for her by the household, which the manager contributes to enforce:

*He is always wanting to know what happen at work, you know checking the uniform when I come back from work, always asking me so many questions, he does not like my type of job, I must say you know but he doesn't have a choice because we need to eat - **KF4***

*I was thinking he would give me a better job but that did not happen because I cannot be getting money that is almost the same thing as my husband's. It is abnormal so he gave me this job. Also my husband does not like me to work where will be shaking men's hand every time. He hates it - **KF7***

As I said earlier he supported me before I started working here but still he complains because isn't easy for him as well. I know am supposed to cook at home before coming down to work, so that when he comes back he's going to see food and also the children I should know there whereabouts – LF4

I don't think so I really feel our culture is fine the way it is. I try to employ staff and give responsibility to staffs in such a way that it accommodates everyone. I don't give the married women in the hotel night shift because I know they have family responsibility to attend to. I give the single ladies night shifts and mostly men night shifts - LM4

Since I started working here, I always give my husband the money I make at the end of the month because he the head of the house. The manager of the hotel doesn't talk to me. If he wants me to work in the night shift, he speaks to my husband on the phone - IF6

The tone of the females, such as, “I know I am supposed to cook for him” indicate females’ adherence in the tradition and perhaps their unwillingness to oppose the status quo. There is no doubt that the belief and acceptance of female respondents and unwillingness of many of them to challenge may be associated to long period of overwhelming patriarchal influence and socialisation. Several studies have investigated the impact of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity on people’s education, politics, work and freedom to participate in socioeconomic activities in Nigeria (Izugbara, 2004; Odimegwu and Okemgbo, 2005; Odimegwu et al., 2005; Uchendu, 2007; Maduagwu, 2011; Ezegwu, 2015; Essien and Ukpung, 2012). Izugbara (2004) explains that males are expected, in a sociocultural context, to be “risk-taking’, ‘adventurous’, and should show lack of interest in the ‘idle chatters’,

‘childish emotions’, and ‘natural unreasonableness’ of women” (Izugbara, 2004, p.11). Such psychological terrorism was observed during the interviews and constitutes both obstacles to females’ work in the hotel and also obstacles for females’ advancement and work-life balance for those that dare to work in hotels. Many males exhibited a very strong dominant tendency and would not grant females opportunity to work or advance in their career. There were indications that the dominance has been fuelled or sustained (or both) by religious beliefs. Males that exhibited such characteristics during their interviews expressed their tenacious adherence to male superiority based on their religious beliefs:

*I would not even allow them [his children] to be working here in the hotel where I work it is not good, they are children of Allah ... This place is a city guided by Allah rules and regulations, Allah preaching a woman should be a joy of her husband she should stay more at home and make her husband happy every time. So I think it's the best - **KM3***

*To be honest with you, my wife does not have any say in what I do, a good wife should fear and respect her husband that is a good thing Allah say about a wife, so my wife definitely does not have anything to say about my promotion because she knows it's a blessing... According to the words of Allah, a woman should be the pride of her husband, some of the people that work in the hotel, some are married and some are not married, I believe a married woman instead of working in the hotel should a pride to her husband at home, so I believe it is not a good thing... Because it is against the teachings of Allah... but a man can work because he can handle the temptation that comes around him but a woman will be so loosed. – **LM3***

The implication of the above claims that females would not get the support of their households and society to work in the hotel. Attempting to work in the hotel for females would constitute social deviance with attendant social pressures and punishments, which could range from beating to breakdown of marriage as **LF2** experience shows in section 4.4. Another important traditional manifestation of hegemonic masculinity that impacts on females' opportunity in the labour market is the concept of family breadwinner. Males are considered breadwinners of their family. Even when they earn very little they are still considered thus. This is also a strong reason behind the masculine inferiority and fear about their wives earning better than them. In the previous section, it was noted that even in the southeast that has the highest percentage of females earning more than their husbands. Males tend to struggle with the concept of their wives earning more in the hotel environment. The 'fornication house' notion interacts with the 'bread winner' view of males to destroy the remaining chances females have to rise in their career in the hotel industry. Some of the respondents noted these:

Men are expected to go to school, get good jobs and take care of their family

- IF1

*My duties are that of the man of my family is to provide for my family. I currently work to provide for them, that is what is expected of me as a man. I don't think apart from that I have any duties or job to do as a man. That's why I married two wives it is their jobs to take care of the house not mine... as I said before my wives have no right to tell me a man what to do and what not to do. It's not there right in anyway at all or if they try it I would move them back to their fathers' house. Two I don't tell my wives about my job cause it's not their business to know. So that said I don't think it is their business – **LM6***

You have to know that a woman is a woman and a man is a man, a woman is meant to be at home taking care of her own family while a man, I mean a man - a real man, need to go outside and work for the family - IM1

Even males that occupy low paying positions and earn meager salaries still feel they are the breadwinners, with some of them marrying many wives. Some of the gateman with relatively low salaries have many wives. This trend was observed among Imo respondents.

I work in this hotel for the past 6 years as the gateman, I am married and I have 5 children. I have solid boys. I have two wives - LM6

I am married to two wives and I am planning to get married to the third one but not from the hotel – IM1

Most female respondent felt that earning more might make their husbands view them as ‘unfaithful wives’ and they might no longer faithfully perform their marital and household responsibilities as expected of a ‘good wife’:

In this work place you would find educated women, I mean educated women, doing domestic job. The do such job either because of they need to have enough time to dedicate to their home or they do this job because they feel they do not want to make more money than their husbands - IF7

Both the Igbo and Yoruba worldview construes males and females roles as complementary, giving rise to the observed sex-based division of labour in the households and society (Alaba, 2004; Nzewi, 2011; Ezegwu, 2012). The division of labour has also lead to the emergence of such traditional terms as *oriaku* and *dibuno*. Ezegwu (2012, p.56) explains the gender binary divide at both home and workplaces with the Igbo concept of “‘*dibunoh*’ and *okpataaku*’ which literally mean —the pillar that holds the house and the bringer of wealth; and the females as

‘*oriaku*’ and ‘*odoziaku*’ meaning —the one who enjoys wealth and the one that looks after wealth”.

However, Ezegwu warns that the gender imbalance should not be taken literally and explained in Western terms. He argues that the concept of *oriaku* might not be appropriately characterized or equated with “Western concept of ‘house-wife’ because the *odoziaku* takes part in the household businesses, which the *okpataaku* might have established (she often manages the commercial aspect of it, such as selling the proceeds from the farm)” (Ezegwu, 2012, p.56). Nevertheless, such terms reflect the gender division of labour. In the hotel industry there are some roles females should never dream of having (such as manning the gate) and their efforts are limited by their husbands’ and managers’ expectations of them, as well as rules and allowances. At the surface, it appears that some males are interested in promoting females’ freedom, development and gender equality. However, a deeper examination of their opinions suggests that their seemingly open-mindedness does not run deep. There is quiet resistance to change, desire to sustain male’s authority in subtle ways and ensure that whatever freedom and development women get works to advance the man’s image and authority:

My wife is free to work anytime she feels like, but I cannot accept her contribution to the house because I am expected to provide for the family not her - LM4

While some females are yearning for a change to improve their condition, as earlier discussed on the views about gender equality, males appear to be willing to allow changes as long as such change advance their names and household income, as emphasized in **LM2** response below. He was interested in females’ advancement that promotes the man’s name and wealth. The males also

appear to desire partial liberation in manners that allow females to contribute in wealth creation while retaining some traditional responsibilities as also expressed by **LM2**. Some females also share these perspectives:

*There are some things they should do or they can do or they will do. Number one is to give them change, give them the room to participate in this politics, they are given them room but it is not enough, let them be, at least, maybe the president or governor as long as my wife don't start acting like she is the oga [boss] of the house - **IM6***

*All men are superior to the women, that are ok, but men should give women the opportunity to do better things to improve their own life too. Because if there is no room for opportunities our society won't be better that's just it - **LF4***

*Anywhere in the world if you bring up this whole idea of women as second fiddle and it's all rubbish I mean people now don't mind if their wives earn, even if their wife is their boss, maybe I should personalize it, if my wife is my boss, I don't mind, why, because she bears my name, it is my pride that she is doing well and again I am sorry I am a business guy, I studied Banking and Finance and the money comes to the house, so we run the money as an empire and no matter what if her signature is going and my name is following it, so apart from that, that aside as being sentimental, the truth of the matter is that, a woman has a life of her own so she should be given the chance to do the things she really need to do as long as it does not stop her marital duties and her motherhood obligations which of cause for me is very important not to be deprived in any way – **LM2***

It is important to note that the male dominance that is reflected in the respondents expressions underline the cultural expectations of males and females both at home and work places. In Kaduna, religion and culture gives more freedom for males in the family relationship than females. This limitation affects females' choices and capacity and is more pronounced in Kaduna than in Imo and Lagos.

Meanwhile, the influence of hegemonic masculinity is also felt in the area of girls development, which determines their future jobs. Both the study data and information from the literature highlighted the resistance to female education (see Usman, 2006; Okungbemi, 2013; Humphreys and Crawford, 2014; Gershberg et al. 2016; Ezegwu, 2015). In northern Nigeria, the resistance was related to the fear that Western education might either corrupt people's way of life or cause them to deviate from their religious commitments. There were communities in which education was rejected because they took people away from their tradition and cultural means of livelihood. A respondent in a study by Okungbemi's (2013, p.20) noted that "parents fear that western schooling may alienate their children from learning the Quran". A study in Fulani communities by Usman (2006, p.168) observed that Fulbe parents felt that Western education curricula were both "dysfunctional to the daily needs of Fulbe nomads" and "ineffective to the needs of their herding and social life style". The interview data of this study shows that the resistance was not generally recorded in the south and may not be thus taken as either an Igbo or a Yoruba value. Females are generally encouraged by their households to get at least a secondary level education. Some of the respondents from the south noted:

My dad allowed me to get education... My dad felt that, because he wasn't allowed to go to school back then so he now decided that all his children will

do to school, he does not mind if you are a woman or a man as long as you are his child you are allowed to go to school - LF4

This is how my father is: he believes in training, he sends us to school so it won't be like, eh, my children are not educated, but he only stops the girls' education, he stops furthering or sponsoring our education once we earn our O level, our secondary school, that means we are done. He sees it as irrelevant for him to sponsor our education, he says we will end up marrying someone else and being a wife and its so useless wasting his money investing, you see, he says he sees it as a waste of money, not investment but he can go any length to send his children to school, his male children to school. So, basically, after I finished my...because I had my...I'm actually the first girl – LF3

IF2 claimed that “Men are expected to go to school, get good jobs and take care of their family” but this claim contradicts the prevailing educational statistics on girls' education in the southeast. By the early 2000s, available evidence shows that the gender gap closed in some southern states like Anambra (GPI was -3 in favour of females) in the Southeast and consistent low males enrolment in secondary schools across southeast has been widely reported (UNICEF, 2003). In the late 1990s, a stakeholder conference was held in Anambra State in search for ways to rescue males' education (Amaechi, 1999; Ejiofor, 1999; Ukaegbu, 1999; Ezegwu, 2012).

With only secondary education, what females are able to do is very much limited compared to males who acquire post-secondary education. A major implication for females' low education is that they miss opportunities that demand higher education.

KM4 claimed “*most of these women did not attend the university so it is so difficult to even employ them in bigger position in the hotel*”. Because they lack relevant education, they are not qualified for such work. There are indications that better education increases females’ opportunities to demand their rights, engage in their chosen career and, to some extent, be able to deal with societal pressures but they still face household pressures such as child care responsibilities, as **IF4** narrated. **IF7** was a manager and believed that women need to be given opportunities to advance in their career. She also took personal steps at her home to ensure that gender rules did not prevent her from achieving her career objectives. But as regards employing females she found herself restricted because females lacked requisite qualifications:

To be honest I try to employ who I feel is best for the job but the problem is most women are not educated to take top jobs and all – IF7

The access to education plays a major role when it comes to work progression in any field due to the increase of professional expertise (Ezenwanebe, 2015). Employers look for those with evidence of academic qualification from reputable institutions when looking to fill up managerial, technical or executive positions within the hotels in Nigeria as stated in the research findings. Such qualifications will mean that the applicants must go through basic, secondary and high education. They must carry out specialized education in order to apply for such positions and qualify for them at the same time. Unfortunately, access to education has not been an easy feat to achieve for the female gender in Nigeria. Many Nigerian girls are not given requisite education at an early age ending up in early marriages or dropping out of school due to household demands (Dube, 2016). This means that a larger number of girls are not able to access education and qualify for the most important economic

positions in different sectors. In the spirit of hegemonic masculinity, it has been observed that patriarchy is a system that accords males privileges and evolves through the processes of gendered socialisation in every area of people's lives, including cultural, economic, ideological, political, social and spiritual (Walia, 2006). Hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal structures have been argued to benefit men through control of women and secure males' dominance (Donaldson, 1993; Hanke, 1990). In the context of this study, they manifest through gender role divisions in the society, cultural expectations of females, religious ethos and family responsibilities. According to (Shrestha, 2016) traditional labour divisions based on gender constitute severe obstacles to females' career development, despite the fact that, through education and various innovative advancement, females have proven that they are both able and willing to perform excellently and succeed in every endeavour engaged, including those fields that are considered to be the domain of males (Shrestha, 2016).

The intersectionality of religion, culture and gender was a key theme to emerge from the data analysis. Religious issues were mentioned by many of the participants in the study and it was clear that they are prevalent in terms of the impact on culture within the hotel environments and in wider Nigerian society. This is confirmed by some existing studies that have specifically investigated the role of religion in the ongoing challenges associated with gender inequality in the country (e.g. Essien and Ukpog, 2012; Lagasi and Buba, 2016).

In order to create a more gender-neutral society, both male and female Nigerians need to question conventional practices that prejudice against women. Female citizens have been proven to contribute significantly to developing national society

and that justice and equity mandate that they be afforded equal opportunities to participate in society, government and the economy, stating that “gender discrimination is a monster” that should not have a role in modern civilisation. The prevalence of gender inequality in the southern region of Nigeria was reported to be primarily due to archaic and unproductive traditionalism driven by some religious and traditional bigots who are not in concordance with authentic and holistic hermeneutics of continuity, but instead, outcomes of theological frameworks repelling conversion (Essien, 2012). From a meticulous exposition of the Christian scriptures, females are esteemed in their ontology. A woman’s functions should be valued and cultivated for a humanizing Nigerian society and culture in the 21st century.

Further to the above, both patriarchy and its trademark - hegemonic masculinity - are known for their control and fundamental subordination of females. The female workers have been socialized to view their job roles as being appropriate for them. Several of the female hotel workers explained their views that certain roles were more suitable for women than men. Respondents in this study also emphasized their adherence to the religious values that promote male superiority over females both at home and outside the home:

As a good woman that follows Allah teaching and words, you should be home with your family at night not working in the hotel where they sell bad drinks and have sex so I think it is not alright. – KF7

Yes, I am ok with it [gender roles in the hotel], it shows the hotel has a lot of values and they respect God – KF4

I am married I can’t [do what my husband does not support], according to our tradition; a woman listens to her husband even at work. He decides what you

should do and what you cannot do. So I can't start rewriting a tradition that is already written. I mean I don't mind been under my husband but I feel the work place should be free of husband rules – IF6

From females who still desire to progress against the widely held notion of 'good woman', it is not often tolerated and sometimes could be costly for females, as **LF2** narrated:

I was working in the University of Lagos as the receptionist to the head of the department before I got a better offer to work here in the hotel. The pay is good compared to other hotels. The hotel is a big hotel so the pay is very good here. I think that was what brought the fight I had with my husband – LF2

In some cases, it appeared that this perspective had been normalized in the sense that the interviewees gave the impression that they felt this was simply a factual statement that was not the result of any religious, or cultural influence that had conditioned them to think in this way. From a labour segmentation perspective, Reich et al. (in Bauder, 2001, p.39) argued that "employers actively and consciously [foster] labor market segmentation in order to "divide and conquer" the labor force". This may possibly be the case in some respects with male managers advancing such views, but female respondents appear to have genuinely believed this would be the normal thinking within the hotel industry and that there was no reason to question whether there was gender bias in this particular setting in Nigeria. Such views were stricter in Kaduna than in Imo and much less in Lagos. Kimmell (2001, p.23) notes that in every society some manifestations of hegemonic masculinity are "more valorized than others". **KF5** previously worked in a hotel in Lagos before moving to Kaduna and observed that:

*I was working in one hotel [in Lagos]; I was working as a customer care person. Working there was much better than here because the manager of the hotel gives more room for people to grow and develop themselves you get what I mean. They don't put you into job because you are a woman. And the hotel has no jobs that are expected to be done by women. They give you job for the purpose of growing. The manager gives you the job because you can do it not because you are a woman. And if there is anything you wish to do to develop yourself whereby can make you a better person in life, you can talk to the manager and he will allow you to do it – **KF5***

Males' conscious complicity and resistance have been identified as key attribute of the prevailing patriarchal order and its underpinning hegemonic masculinity (Wetherell and Edley, 1999). The males are happy to retain and sustain the existing gender order and are consciously and subconsciously resisting attempts towards gender power adjustment in the society. This is evident in the strong and vehement rejection of opportunities for females' emancipation from the patriarchal shackles. Even males that appear to be relatively liberal still desire to retain some element of the old order and do not want total female freedom from patriarchal colonisation. As observed in the preceding chapter, some males appear to be interested in championing females' freedom and development but their interest is very limited and embodies some subtle adjustment of the approach to accommodate the old interest. Such males tend to be willing to support female's ascendancy as long as it contributes to promote their popularity, influence and wealth.

Possibly, as intersectionality studies have demonstrated, some males' willingness to support women's development might be rarity. Studies have observed the existence of diverse manifestations of masculinities that were influenced by other subcultures

and ongoing shifts in gender perspectives occasioned by the influences of globalisation (Smith et al., 2009; Watkins and Griffith, 2013; Hankivsky, 2014). Hankivsky (2014: 15) observes, “these diverse expressions affect how differentially situated men in a variety of jurisdictions respond differently” to diverse social problems. Such possibility may include existence different masculinities across different ethnic groups. However, their adherence to some elements of the prevailing masculinity that dominates raises questions about their sincerity.

IM6 particularly reflected this in his advice: “*give them the room to participate in politics... let them be, at least, maybe the president or governor as long as my wife don't start acting like she is the oga [boss] of the house.*” Eke (1975) discussed the existing mindset in postcolonial Africa, which permits corruption and other practices in the public spaces while abhorring same at private (household or clan) sphere. The males might be willing to allow their wives to rule the public space as long as their authorities are never challenged in their homes. It implies that whatever authority a woman wields in the public, she is not expected to wield it at home but should submit to her husband and perform her household chores irrespective of her public position. Interestingly, works in hotels are patterned along the households’ work patterns. Many respondents mentioned that females are cooks because they do so at home and their house care works resonate well with cooking and cleaning jobs in the hotels.

Similarly, Kimmel’s (2001) two notions of male power relate to the private and public, where private male be related to the household while the public is concerned with institutional and public structures. **LM2** explained that:

... people now don't mind if their wives earn higher, even if their wife is their boss...., if my wife is my boss, I don't mind, why, because she bears my name, it is my pride that she is doing well and again I am sorry I am a business guy, I studied Banking and Finance and the money comes to the house, so we run the money as an empire and no matter what if her signature is going and my name is following it... she should be given the chance to do the things she really need to do as long as it does not stop her marital duties and her motherhood obligations which of cause for me is very important not to be deprived in any way – LM2

The implicit treachery in the above statement is that the woman is allowed to work and made to believe she is progressing whereas she has been conditioned to serve the man either overtly or covertly and advancing the man's name and wealth. This is because, according to **KF7**, *"her husband is her owner and her leader and a man is the leader"*.

Another important observation about the control and manipulation of females in the hotel industry is the use of female body in the sector. IF4 stated that the main reason she was appointed to her job role was her skin complexion, explaining that *"most hotels like when you employ good-looking women in the hotel, it kind of attracts men to the hotel, even women. People like good-looking women around them. I feel that's what made me get my current job"*. She went on to explain further that the more women you have in a hotel *"the more customers it attracts this is because the women are attractive in nature and they know how to make a man feel comfortable and welcome in the hotel"*.

Another important observation around gender and employment in the hotel is beauty as a characteristic attributes and qualifying factor in hotel employments. Managers in Lagos and Imo were said to be employing female staffs that are beautiful in order to attract customers. In Kaduna, women are expected to cover their body in relation to what is expected of them religiously. By so doing it attracts local guests that can identify with same religion; according to the Islamic rule; a woman should always be covered. Here are some of what they said:

I think my skin complexion helped me in getting this job.... You know in most hotels, it is as if when you employ good looking women in the hotel, it attracts men to the hotel even women. People like good-looking women around them. I feel that's what made me get my current job – IF4

I think one of the factors was my certificate and because I was beautiful so as a receptionist and you need to look good and all of that, my complexion too, so the boss actually likes it – LF4

I think it is my qualification and my beauty that help me to get this job – IF3

Male respondents too had similar experience but it was not about personal handsomeness but dressing. While female body remains a determining factor (something individuals have very little influence on as most female applicants may not afford the cost of plastic surgery and other cosmetics) but for males, it is dressing capacity that was observed (a factor people have control of, some can even borrow good clothes to get job but not so with physiological beauty of a person).

When I came here they were looking out for someone who can welcome customer, someone who can smile, someone who can speak good

English, someone who has a dressing experience, somebody who can dress well that has a physically good outlook that can welcome customer. That is what they were looking out for because we were many when we came for the interview; immediately they saw my appearance they were just like please come on Monday, come and start work. That was what happened... According to the manager it was not actually about the credentials because I am just an OND [ordinary national diploma] graduate, it's not just about the credentials because I have other people that had masters there but the man was looking at the dressing... It was not about my certificate actually - LM5

In 2011, after my master's program, being fair or light-complexioned was an advantage for me in gaining jobs in an advertising company in Nigeria hence, wonder how highly qualified females that are less endowed with natural beauty and lacking necessary fund might succeed in their chosen career in the hotel management system. The reasons provided for employing beautiful and attractive females are to attract and sustain guests and promote profitability of hotel business. Both Lagos manager and a staff in the Lagos hotel captured this:

We just don't have more female, we have more attractive, soft spoken beautiful appealing ladies in that department because they are the representation of our hotel, what you see of them, is what you see of the hotel. So how they talk to you, how they smell, how they look, how they speak to you, I mean all of that give you a memory... good to come, work and have a return experience. So we believe that women have this appealing and they give you this pleasantness which is important in hospitality business – LM2

The man [manager] believes that female have this kind of smile that welcomes customer and keeps customer than male because men, it is scarce or seldom that you see them [males] smile except the one that is jovial but female even when you don't say anything to them there is this kind of smile that attract men that attract customer that is who our manager is - LM5

Whether it is for customer attraction or customary regulation of females, one major outcome of various obvious and covert controls of females in hotels is restriction of their freedom to work, develop and progress in the industry to the fullest of their capacities. Two important issues beg attention here. Firstly, there is overt patriarchal manipulation of females in ways that ensure that their hotel jobs are aligned to their households' care works. The second is that females have themselves be nurtured to accept their situation as normal and desiring positions that align with their care responsibilities at home. Interventions would be needed at both levels to in order to 'rescue' women The barriers discussed in this section constitute serious obstacles to both female's carrier advancement and gender diversity in the hotel industry management.

The use of females' body as a bait complicates female hotel employees' experiences. According to Hartmann (1981), segregation by sex and women's sexual exploitation can be explained only by employing the way patriarchy and capitalism work together to form a system that she called "patriarchal capitalism". In this social system, male-dominant power is based on their control of female labour in both the family and the labour market. She argues that sexual segregation in the

labour market has served to secure male dominance. In this regard, sexual harassment of female workers by their male counterparts is a reflection of the male-dominated society. The bulk of discussions about gender inequalities at work focus on various ways in which female workers are unnecessarily underprivileged in the workplace regarding low pay, lower status jobs, restriction from specific jobs as well as confinement to sex-type jobs (Mackinnon, 1979; Schaefer, 1989; Haralambos and Holborn, 2000). However, while these aspects are necessary, the issue of sexual harassment at work seems to attract little attention (Ram, Tribe and Biran, 2016). Many reasons could be attributed to this situation, first is the socio-cultural constraints, which restrict discussion about sex in many societies. Closely related to the above factor is the refusal of most victims of sexual harassment to discuss or even disclose their experience freely.

More than a decade and half ago, Bauder (2001) observed that supply-side processes in the labour market tend to trap women. While Marxists' conception of gender relations is largely in terms of exploitation and oppression, sexual oppression is used to denote the many ways in which women are socially and sexually subordinated because of their gender (Pollert, 1985). The sexual division of labour brought by the male-dominated sexist ideology further strengthens the pattern of women exploitation. Interview data show that while the hotel managers use females as baits to attract customers, some of the female employees feel sexually harassed by customers who try to catch the bait. Such a bait-for-catch attitude complicates challenges of female workers and sometimes tends to violate their human rights but they often chose to keep silent because they do not want to lose their job:

I get a lot of negative attitude from male customers, I am being viewed as cheap and irresponsible simply because I work in a hotel, most men feels is there right to ask for my number and when I don't give it, they complain to my manager that I am rude and abusive, I am made to apologise cause my manager would always see things from a males point of view never from mine. So been a woman in Nigeria is not easy. – IF2

Adkins (1995) advanced the sexuality theory of gender that explains the differential experiences of women and men in the labour market based on their sex. The theory acknowledges the centrality of sexuality in the labour market as a factor in the work experience of female workers. She based her theory on the tourism industry, which led her to explore how relations of sexuality are central in constructing women and men as different types of workers. She argues that feminists have concentrated on how women's labour is controlled through their exclusion from jobs and wages or via segregation within jobs. She further asserts that the labour market is more gendered than dual systems approach suggests. The labour market is in this regard not only a site of inequality but also where meanings about gender and sexuality are constructed. She notes that jobs in hotels were gender segregated, with positions such as receptionist and housekeepers being performed by women, and porters and kitchen assistants by men. She emphasises that the control of women's labour in tourism involves sexuality and the compulsion for women to be what she refers to as *sexual workers*. Women and men may do the same job, but they are different kinds of workers, as women's work involves sexual servicing.

A strong indication and commonality was observed in respondents' adherence to religious values, as key factor in the formation and sustenance of hegemonic

masculinity tendency. Some observers link hegemonic masculinity and its patriarchal system to religion, which they claim provides justification for gender inequality (Crane-Seeber and Crane, 2010; Hooks, 2013). Crane-Seeber and Crane (2010) argues that religious basis for patriarchy and masculine domination underpin the hierarchical structure of the society and providing ideological and cosmological reasoning that advances masculine leaderships, justification for control of others and subordination of females.

Close to the fundamental control of females is the seemingly complicity of the females in their domination which might be a clear evidence of 'false consciousness'. Anthony Thompson explains false consciousness as expression used by Karl Marx to describe "an untrue calculation of interest" as a result of ignorance. It is "an incorrect interpretation which hides the real world rather than reveals it in a manner adequate for effective action" (Thompson, 1974: 17). A cursory examination would reveal that while they appear to be in support of their lower positions in the society, they are actually being manipulated mentally. Karl Marx describes religion, which contributes to create such condition, as the opium of the masses (Uchegbue, 2011). A postcolonial writer, Steve Biko theorised that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko in Arnold, 1979, p. xx). Hegemonic masculinity operates in the mentality of females to sustain male dominance and control of females and obtain dominance for males (Hanke, 1990). While Western feminists tend to view African women as a powerless group, exploited, weak and violated (Mohanty, 1988; Ezegwu, 2012), the culturally idealised characters and gender roles tend to operate in the mind of both males and females in pervasive ways that oppose changes. The women thus

contribute to preserve the status quo. **KF3** expressed her adherence to cultural standard:

*I don't even want to get a bigger job, I mean it's a good thing but as a woman I feel I should not try to make more money than my husband... In my culture women are not supposed to be more rich than men. It is not right – **KF3***

This pattern of belief and adherence to male superiority points to the religious and traditional pattern of children's upbringing that shape both males and females perspectives, transfer and sustain patriarchal mindset. Patriarchal thinking defines popular values and people are socialised in to it that they tend to promote and preserve as ideal (see Hooks, 2013). **KF3** became angry at the question about gender equality in the society. She emphasised that:

*The western world feel the man should be given the same way as the woman which is wrong, I feel the western world is making people think that a man and a woman are the same but I think they are not and can never be the same...Our culture is fine I wouldn't say much about that; you people are the one that make it look like our culture is bad, our culture is fine, it has been working for us for a very long time, so leave the culture like that – **KF3***

In the above excerpt the respondent believed that her culture is fine, exhibiting support for the patriarchal structure partly because it was already operating at the realm of her consciousness and partly because it was religiously right to do so. Her gender intersected with her cultural and ethnic identities to create her preferences and experiences as other studies elsewhere observed (see Varcoe, Hankivsky, and Morrow, 2007; Thurston et al. 2016). Thurston et al. (2016) explain that females' experiences can intersect with class-consciousness to shape their behaviors. Sometimes, because of the ingrained patriarchal mentality, both males and females

can get angry at any attempt to challenge the existing order because their gender intersect with other social institutions to construct their behavior and operating in their consciousness and mind to legitimise such order. Another Muslim respondent from north but working in Lagos was also angry at the question of gender equality, nothing that:

As a Muslim it is forbidden, I mean it is totally forbidden *for a woman to do the same work as a man, so it is totally forbidden, a woman is supposed to be at home to watch over the children while the man goes out to look for work and comes back and feed the family, so a man is more powerful than the woman in the house, so I don't agree with the woman having the same quality with the man* [Sounding angry] - **LM3**

Possibly because the way they were socialised and inducted into the patriarchal spirit, females takes over the fight for sustenance of the patriarchal structure and its underlying hegemonic masculinity. While it appears that the southern respondents had better opportunities than those of the north, there are also cases of females opposing their children's development because they believe females should be under males. In the south, IF8 described how her mother was the one opposing her educational advancement:

The way my mom sees things is based on her tradition that women are expected to be soft and easy going and they are not expected to work but she believes men are the one who are supposed to work and provide for the family but me I believe men and women are the same thing they are just different in type and shape – **IF8**

Ezegwu (2011) posit that social institutions, including family, religious and educational institutions that are the center of children's socialisation work hand in hand with the male dominated culture to consistently introduce and socialise into

authority pattern in patriarchal dimension that are replicated across other social institutions and across national borders. Traditional pattern of children's upbringing has also greatly contributed transfer patriarchal mindset and sustain the system (See Ezegwu, 2011; Omadjohwoefe, 2011).

In addition, there are also some indications that women lack requisite confidence to challenge the culture of male domination. **IF8** was not happy with her conditions and experiences in her hotel both could not complain because of fear of being labeled a 'bad' woman. According to her *"I can't complain to the manager based on how the hotel culture is, he would see me as a hard and bad lady who is very irresponsible and I might be sacked"*. She was also afraid of losing her job. Such fear could be the outcome of previous experiences, suppression and punishment of those who may have made effort to challenge the status quo in the past. Whatever the cause may be the outcome is the same: many females accept their condition and are not willing to challenge the prevailing domination.

5.3.1 Key Conclusion on the Research Question 2

So far, issues around hegemonic masculinity and how it affect female career advancement and work life balance in the three cultural zones are have been discussed, which relates to the second research question that seeks to understand how differences in Nigerian cultural norms are reflected in gender roles and women's opportunities in Nigerian hotels. Some of the issues relating to the cultural norms were also previously discussed in section 5.3. Based on the study data, it may be concluded that hegemonic masculinity manifests in the cultures and fundamentally work to suppress female's work in the hotel. Within the hotels, the

culture still rears its head preventing managers from employing and promoting females due to their adherence to culturally idealised gender roles. Also managers tend to prefer employees from their own faith and culture and making it difficult for people from other faiths and culture to advance to higher management levels in hotels managed by such culture-ideologue managers. For example, a very educated and experienced Christian female employee from the southern Nigeria may be discriminated against in the northern Nigeria where managers are convinced that their guests would want to see their own – Muslim females from the north, well covered from head to toe. Thus the factors hindering females' career progression in the hotel is felt from both demand and supply side and having guest as additional monitors who help to ensure compliance by rejecting hotels that do not comply to the unwritten gender law of the hotel in Nigeria. These factors are directly connected to gender diversity in the hotel industry as research question, which is immediately discussed below, seeks to explore.

5.4. Dysfunctional Promotion of Gender Diversity

Three major opinions emerged from respondents on how hotel management promotes gender diversity through training for career development. 1) A number of respondents claimed that managers provide training for all employees 2) others claimed that no such a thing exists. 3) The third category of respondents claimed that hotel management provides training and career development opportunities but the timing of such training was quite unfavorable for females because they are usually held at 'female's odd hours' evenings. It is noteworthy that these three categories of opinions cut across different cultural zones. The category of

respondents that expressed the third opinion are largely females while the first two consist of both males and females. For example, while **LM2** and **LF2** claimed that training was organised for employees, **LM3** and **LM6** claimed he did not know of any training for his job. Possibly, training was organised for some departments and not for others.

Many female respondents showed apathy to such meetings, emphasising that they did not care if such opportunities existed because her husband may not grant them permission to attend. It was also claimed that managers were not informing or encouraging females to attend the training. Female apathy, according to **IF8**, was because whether females attend or not, it is males that get the promotion. A key factor highlighted by some female respondents was their culturally assigned roles. Considering that some the training was held in the evening, it coincided with their house chore time. Hence many of them dismissed such opportunities due to insufficient time to attend.

Within the industry, managers appear to find the word 'discrimination' to be out of place in gender diversity management. Below are some comments that highlight that the deeply gendered beliefs and stereotypes are seen as normal:

Because customers when they come they prefer to be welcomed by women because they are soft spoken and they are always wearing good smiles especially male customers they prefer women to attend to them -

LF1

The truth of the matter is that you know hospitality business is about appeal. It's about pleasantness. It is about attractiveness. So you don't

want to put somebody that may not be very suitable, it is not about discrimination but about the appropriate person that can make the customer or the client comfortable from the moment you step in at the gate - LM2

The more women you have in a hotel the better the customers comes, this is because the women attractive in nature and they know how to make a man feel comfortable and welcome in the hotel. Most customers come into the hotel mostly because of the female workers that work in the hotel, I am just saying. I feel the manager shares job in the hotel in a strategic way to enhance the view of the hotel in a better way and attract the right set of customers in the hotel – IF4

An important factor that influences gender diversity in the hotel industry, especially in the lower and middle star hotels, is the way jobs are advertised in the industry. In all the hotel studies, it was mentioned they advertise the jobs on the public spaces and on their websites but in Imo and Kaduna, the managers and other employees were largely those who were informed by word of mouth specifically mentioned it. In response to how they reach out to a potential employer, a female manager in Imo responded:

...Word of mouth or someone that knows someone. It is how it is sometimes we actually try to make use of the website to place adverts but I must say it is mostly who knows who gets the job... And since it is always a word of mouth type of thing I feel people always reference their brothers or family and all so it is hard trying to create that balance – IF7

Men in the hospitality industry were ten times more likely to receive promotion towards the top management level than women and the industry has not recorded much success in developing its women when compared to other sectors.

The study data shows that respondents were divided on how the hotels promote gender diversity through provision of training opportunities for employees' skills and career development. While managers and human resource officers in Lagos and Kaduna mentioned that training and career development opportunities were provided for employees, opinion of the employees were divided. Some said training opportunities were provided while others said such opportunities do not exist in their hotel:

*I think the hotel management is presently doing what they should do, I mean we give workshops, we give talks, and we give to these people, at least every 3 months they get to experience little training. For the kitchen department we bring in foreign guys when they come around to introduce to them new realities new continental dishes to update our system - **LM2***

*I think they do like a conference and job opening but not always once in a blue moon. It's not an everyday event. They do these things once in a while for people who are interested in this job. It's open for both men and both women that work in the hotel – **LF2***

I don't know of any training all I know is my job, which is the gate. Simple!

- LM6

*I don't know about training I have not heard anything concerning the training I don't think there is any training going on about that now - **LM3***

*[Laugh] Nigeria doesn't have time for that type of thing, which training, there is nothing like that at all. They don't do that type of thing. If you do not want the job you go and another person will come take the job - **KM1***

*I don't know, to tell you the truth, I really don't know, even if they do, my husband will not allow me to go for that kind of training so I don't know walahi - **KF7***

*I don't know of any training like that since I have been working in this hotel. Maybe they do such training in the hotel but I don't think they inform the women about such training in the hotel, especially we working in the cooking department - **IF6***

Respondents were also divided on females' participation. Some claimed that such opportunities exist but managers do not encourage females to benefit from such opportunities. Others claimed that females are not interested in such opportunities and for others; their husbands and fathers may stand in their ways of benefiting from such opportunities. Among female respondents, some said they were not interested while others explained that household responsibilities do not allow them to take part in such trainings.

*They do [organise training] but the manager don't encourage women to go for this training because for the real sense of it, it would be the men that will get promoted at the end of the day so what is the use of women going for this training... but even if they do, it's only the men that get promoted - **IF8***

They don't because this is the northern part of Nigeria and things happen different here. If they must, the women must get approval from their

*fathers or husbands. So here I don't think the hotel has such to be honest with you - **KF5***

*I don't know, to tell you the truth, I really don't know, even if they do, my husband will not allow me to go for that kind of training so I don't know walahi. **KF7***

*What time would we have to do such and this woman would not even like to attend such training to be honest to you, even now we talking you can count the amount of time I had to step out attend to the workers and come back. It is crazy – **IF7***

*The hotel organizes training on staff development but I do not have time to attend the training; I have my family to take care of. I have never attended any of the trainings and I do not need any other training, the ones I have attended are sufficient for me. Even if they invite me for training, I have already attended a training school – **IF5***

It is claimed that the time of the training session constitutes a hindrance for females. The training organisers appear not to take into consideration the societal demands on females, their household responsibilities and times when they are expected to be at home to attend to their households.

*Yes they do [organise trainings] I must be honest, I attend this training. But it is mostly men that come for it and a few women... most of them [women] are not interested in attending such, I feel it is because its mostly done in the night like 6pm to 8pm and most ladies don't take the night shift because they have responsibility to take care of at home, so that's why mostly men attend this training – **IF2***

As regards what hotel management can do to promote gender diversity in career advancement, some respondents believe that gender inequality in the society, which permeates the hotel system, is pervasive and might be very difficult to change. Both male and female respondents held such views. Even **IF7**, who is a hotel manager, aggrieved by gender stereotype in the society and worked to break through the glass ceiling to reach her current level, believed that the situation is difficult to change. Many respondents believe that there is nothing more hotel management might be able to do because the situation is culturally entrenched. Interestingly, this view cuts across gender, location and employment level. Although there some differing opinions that think that hotel management can improve, many think nothing might change due to the widespread of cultural practices.

Many of the study respondents (such as **IF1**, **IF7**, **KF4** and **LM3**) believed that neither the government nor the hotel management would be able to effect changes in the gender-based employment tradition. They claimed that the situation is so pervasive. It is very instructive that even the **IF7** - a manager - echoed such views. While **KF4** insisted, “*nothing can be done*”,

Am telling you, to be honest; there is nothing I feel that can be done to improve the situation [gender diversity in hotel] - IF7

Nothing to be honest, you can't change Nigerian mentality and culture you just can't - IF1

Nothing, I feel nothing can be done – KF 4

No, it is going to change our culture to promote this thing they do in the white man land, so I think they should leave the culture the way it is – LM

3

LM3 showed his opposition to what he referred to changing their “*culture to promote this thing they do in the white man land*”, feeling that the culture should be left the way it is. While his opposition is quite understandable, because as Donaldson (1993) and Hanke (1990) observed, hegemonic masculinity and patriarchal structures tend to benefit most men through control of women and ensure males’ dominance, the insistence of females that the situation may not change is worrisome. Females’ acquiescence and resignation to fate demand radical action to salvage their situations. On the other hand, males like **KM3** did not hide their insistence that the situation will not change and emphasised that the tradition he learnt from his father ought to be sustained by transferring same to his children:

*The girls according to what my father teach me, the girls are people that should be staying at home helping their mother to make food and learning how to be a good woman for the husband that would come and buy them later. So that is what I think... My children are many there is no money to send all of them to school so I allowed the boys to look for work, one is working in another hotel while the girls are going to be married soon they are not working because I know that they should be at home not in a work **KM3**.*

From the interviews, while there are lots of expectations on the government to lead in transforming the gender stereotypes in the hotel industry, many respondents highlighted the handicap of the government. For example, **IF4**, **IF8** and **LF4** expressed their disappointment in the government due to corruption, bad

governance, various failures and weaknesses. **IF3** felt the government cannot do anything because of corruption, those in power have been unable to address corruption in the system and much less coming to *“tell husband how to run their family”*. **IF8** argued that the government should prove itself capable of addressing corruption that is facing *“the country first before thinking of fixing the hotel sector”*. Some of the females in Kaduna betrayed resignation to their fate in such words as *“walahi, they cannot change anything, this is what we grew up with, so they cannot do anything, gaskia”* (**KF7**).

There appears to be a culture of silence among those that are aggrieved and not satisfied with gender situations in the hotels. This culture is fuelled by fear of losing jobs, fear of losing their husband or being thrown out of their marriages and fear of being seen as spoilt females.

*I try even when am tired I do my very best to make it work very well... so other women would not come and take my husband away from me – **KF4***

*I don't think anything can be done because if you ask the woman that work here, I'm sure most of them will want to work longer hours but they can't because of fear of them losing their jobs in the hotel if they speak out, the husband and all limits work for most of them, so there is nothing the hotel management can do or the Nigerian government – **KM4***

*I can't complain to the manager based on how the hotel culture is, he would see me as a hard and bad lady who is very irresponsible and I might be sacked – **IF8***

In line with gender roles, most females experience diverse gender-based challenges. Although respondents claim that they experienced little or no

challenges while working in their departments, there were various challenges that are gender-specific. Some of these challenges are directly related to job specifications, demands and placements. For females they may need to go extra miles and perhaps live double lives as coping mechanism to keep both their jobs and marriages.

I face a lot of problems from my manager and his traditional views on women. First my manager feels since I am a young women I cannot get any better position in the hotel. He respect married women more and give them better task than myself and another problem is the uniform, my skirt looks longer than others, why, because I am not married and I might seduce the male customers. This uniform does not give me the freedom to do my job but other uniform is free and better and lastly night shift I get to do more at night shift because of cultural respect. I can't tell the other older staff to do something's or complain when they don't do their job very well. If I would come across or tell them to do such I might be a bit disrespectful – IF8

Sometimes I want to say am untruthful to my husband but I just need to play along with these men just get what I want if they get to report you to the manager you might lose your job, and when I get home I gist my husband what's going on. Being a woman and working in a hotel is very difficult thing to do in Nigeria. You have to be ready to be viewed as an underdog who does not have a say. You know naturally Nigerian men view woman as weak and as tools they can control when they feel the need to. So working in the hotel is very difficult. So that's the problem – LF4

I don't face any challenges at the moment because we mostly women in the customer service department – IF2

It [gender related challenge] has affected me a lot in different ways... I have responsibilities of taking care of my father. I make efforts to make meals before he gets back from work and I am working night shift. When I try to get his food ready before the next morning, this makes me turn up very late at work but I don't have a choice it's a responsibility. I have to do because I am the only girl in the family – LF1

A human resource officer, **LM2**, claimed that while the hotels want their female employees to satisfy customers they train them on how to respond to abuses and as well have ways to protect their employees:

We let them [employees] understand that whatever you do the business should be considered first and foremost the customer cannot be insulted in anyway, it is not also to say that the customer can insult our client, we found way to let them understand that our workers rather, that they won't do beyond their boundaries, they won't actually cross the line at least once they don't do that, you won't have the right to insult and we also find a way to protect our female workers because if I say we have them more and they are appealing and beautiful and soft spoken it is not that they are agent to quench appetite for sex or something no, they are just to give you good attention, attend to your need and all of that. They have this politeness of letting you understand the things you want to do but they don't want to do and then they back off, because they are well trained and then they are well informed – LM2

Females also experience challenges that are associated to the overall structure of the society and infrastructure

I have to finish up my duties at home before going to work if not my mother would be angry with me...It is very difficult getting transportation especially at night and you have to struggle, you wait for hours before you get buses going to where you want to go to, it is very difficult. And as a woman you have to be very careful at night - LF1

One of the major outcomes of the gender-specific challenges is that it directly or indirectly affects females work life balance (WLB). **IF8** explained that while her brothers watch television at the end of workday, she had to cook for the household and prepare for the next day, which had often been very stressful for her as a woman but she had no choice. This is in addition to the earlier discussed impact on social expectations and household roles distributions on females' work life balance. The respondents also highlighted stress on relationship. **KF7** mentioned that if her job affects her responsibility as a wife or as a mother, it could lead to her marriage break up: *"let me tell you one, if it does I would be in my father's house by now, although the problems too much, working and doing what I am as a wife but I don't have an option than to do it"*.

Nigeria would need to learn from examples of other countries where diverse gender diversity oriented policies have contributed to promote gender equality at the work place and helped the women to rise to top management positions. Some observers have shared how intersectionality was integrated into the U.K. policies and legal processes (Moon, 2009; Hepple, 2010; Babouri, n.d.). The U.K.'s Equality Act 2010

takes into consideration multiple discriminations and intersecting forms of victimisation. Unfortunately, in 2016, the Nigerian legislators rejected the proposed GEO bill on the basis that it was considered to be an attack on religious principles, which is one of the major pillars supporting gender inequality, male dominance and patriarchy. The bill was intended to protect female Nigerians from violence and equip them with equal marital rights as men, including the rights of widows to inherit their spouse's assets (Payton, 2016).

Whilst the deep-seated cultural and religious challenges are apparent in the response to the bill, it is worth highlighting that female representation in the Senate that rejected it is less than 8% of the 109 memberships. This has been criticised throughout Nigeria but it is apparent that the government is not appropriately positioned to take forward the gender equality agenda in a meaningful and success manner. In 2015, it was reported that a Twitter hash tag #BeingFemaleInNigeria that had emphasised gender inequality issues had secured extensive support from young Nigerians, who felt strongly about changing the situation (Payton, 2016). One of the key rules of the bill was to require that 18 becomes the minimum legal age for marriage, as currently almost half (43%) of young female Nigerians are married before they reach 18 years old. Early marriage is a major problem preventing women from undergoing career development, as they have to remain at home to provide for their children and take care of the home. This is an age-old mindset that has caused many unnecessary barriers that prevent women from attempting to pursue their careers.

Kimmel (2001) posits that women compared to men cannot have fulfilling careers because they have to ensure that they take care of their family when they come home to. In modern society, married women who pursue their careers raise some

concerns related to their ability to realise equal footing without the need to sacrifice their family's needs (Blau, 2000). Being married early forces women to forego their education in the long-term as they have to choose between family and work. At the end, they end-up being stay-home moms with no strong academic qualifications as their male counterparts and this impact them negatively. Ilagan-Bian (2004) revealed that women are faced with many challenges such as non-supportive bosses, sexual discrimination, gender bias, and male chauvinism. To realise an equal status, women in the workplace must not only work hard, but also be more qualified, more competent, and ambitious than their male colleagues. As a result, they can get employed and promoted at the same rate as their male counterparts. For the time being, the weakness in the policy approaches and failure of the government creates low opportunity for females' advancement in the industry.

5.4.1 Female Agency and Resistance to Male Dominance

It is apposite to note that some element of resistance to male-dominated social order was observed from few respondents, who indicated their rejection of the prevailing social view. Such respondents, including IF7, took a bold step towards getting a manager, appear to be either afraid to make their voices heard or feel they could not do anything to challenge the status quo. They expect someone, some institution or even the government to present the needed changes. Here are some examples of what they said:

I think first of all, if they want to do anything it should be from the top position like, they should start giving women good and better opportunities even a role of a governor and president to women, then I

think from that women would be encourage to do things that even the men are doing – LF4

Am telling you to be honest, there is nothing I feel that can be done to improve the situation I feel passing the bill to law would be the first step of making things right. So if the government does that it might give the female workers chance to be able to do more and perform better to be honest – IF7

I would say that the way they treat men they should also treat women with equal right too because I believe that we are both the same so they should not try to differentiate us or separate us like I said that I believe that women can do better than men in some things which they don't know so they should give us that opportunity and also they should just help us - KF6

I feel they should allow woman to do any type of jobs she wants to do on anytime they should not allowing a man to do job he wants to do, you know how Nigeria is right, if you talk now they would think you are bad person you know – KF4

The female respondents that showed their desire for a gender equal society, as highlighted above, did not see themselves as possible actors that might lead the change they want to see, they instead expect the government or the males to change by themselves and give opportunities to the women.

Both the dysfunctional gender diversity promotion strategies identified earlier, suggest that little is being done to promote gender diversity in Nigeria. A strong influence of religious and cultural values is evident in the data. On the flip side, some females tend to reject promotion because of their commitment to marriage along the lines of culture and social expectations. This explains why large numbers of females voluntarily work in lower level jobs in hotels. **LF1** said that *“I feel my dad might feel a certain way because he would think no man would like to marry a woman who makes more money than him in the hotel”*. Both male and female respondents echoed the presence of culturally imposed glass ceiling on females’ career advancement in the hotel industry. Culturally assigned gender roles stand in the way and reinforce females’ subjugation in a manner that benefits males. As **KM4** explains, hotel managers tend to give jobs culturally fit for females. *“women can handle cleaning jobs without problems and complain”*. **IF6** said her manager was an Igbo man, who cannot offer females jobs that are traditionally considered to be males’ job. She notes that *“even if the woman is good for the job or better than the men in doing the job, my manager would still give the job to the man”*. Dumbrăveanu et al. (2015) note that tourism employment tend to reproduce an existing gender roles and inequalities in the society, and this trend has been exacerbated by patriarchal capitalism which causes jobs to conform to an existing stereotypes about nature of what may be deemed appropriate work for women in the industry.

While the government has critical roles to play, it has been handicapped by its own ineffectiveness and corruption and consequently, its impact is not felt in the industry as regards gender diversity promotion. Meanwhile, it is not clear why more female respondents from Imo were very critical of the government and talked freely about its weaknesses (but they did not show interest in leading the change they want to

see). While those in Kaduna simply stated that they do not feel anything can be done, those in Imo went further to highlight the government failures and provided reasons for their claims. **IF6** said “*the Nigerian government is already bad as we speak*”. To some extent, similar observation was made in Lagos. Possibly the openness in the south might be associated with their historical assertiveness that changed with colonialism. In pre-colonial and early time, there were evidence of female assertiveness in government, social life and family. Van-Allen (1982) describes how sitting on a man by woman in the southeast (women riot) was used to sanction men that mistreated their wives in pre-colonial and early colonial time. Amadiume (1987) views females power and challenge to patriarchal structure. Possibly a revival of such female power might be needed to address current patriarchal ascendancy that has relegated the women in the background.

5.4.2 Key Conclusions on the Research Question 3

The final question sought to explore how gender diversity is promoted. A guided reflection framework was introduced in a gender equality change program to aid effective space for reflection, which contributes to organizational change (Picardi et al., 2016). From the findings of this study, little is being done to promote gender diversity In Nigeria. Religious doctrines and culture tend to overshadow the need for employment rules in the industry. On the supply side, females tend to reject promotion because of their commitment to marriage along the lines of culture and social expectations. This explains why large numbers of females voluntarily work in lower level jobs in hotels. **LF1** said that “*I feel my dad might feel a certain way because he would think no man would like to marry a woman who makes more money than him in the hotel*”. On the demand side, both male and female

respondents echoed the presence of culturally imposed glass ceiling on females' career advancement in the hotel industry. Culturally assigned gender roles stand in the way and reinforce females' subjugation in a manner that benefit males. As **KM4** explains, hotel managers tend to give females jobs, which in their own judgments, that are culturally fit for females and/or jobs they "*can handle the jobs without problems and complain*". **IF6** said her manager was an Igbo who cannot, because of tradition, offer females jobs that are traditionally considered to be males' job. She notes "*even if the woman is good for the job or better than the men in doing the job, my manager would still give the job to the man*". In a similar manner whether training and career development opportunities are provided, it might mean very little for females because their husbands may not release them to attend. While the government has critical roles to play, it has been handicapped by its own ineffectiveness and corruption and consequently, its impact is not felt in the industry as regards gender diversity promotion. While many female respondents echoed their displeasure over their subordinate position, some of them are not very bold challenge the situation or speak out. Many of them are rather expecting either the hotel management or the government to do something rather than taking the initiative by themselves to bring about the change they desire. The conclusion reached here on the third research question contributes to the broader conclusion of the study contained in Section 5.9 below and ultimately in Chapter 6.

5.4.3 Conclusion

Hegemonic masculinity has been extensively used in gender studies (e.g. Kneale, 2004; Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012; Currier, 2013; Gahman, 2014; Chess and Shaw, 2015; Hebert, 2016), possibly because it provides tools for

contextualisation and analysis of intricate relationships. It offers a model for analysing various dimensions of masculinities and male dominated structure (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Carpenter 2015). Carpenter (2015), citing Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p.836), concludes hegemonic masculinity is a concept of non-static 'configuration of practice', and not some rigid construct. Hegemonic Masculinity, which was advanced by Connell (2004), is concerned with male dominated institutions and cultural narratives (Connell, 1987, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is thus an analytical framework on the interrogation of the institutionalised overt and covert dominance (Connell 1990, 1995). As Connell (1990, p.83) summarised it: "the culturally idealised form of masculine character". This study is particularly interested in questioning, "how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance" (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1993, p.92). While Arbache, Kolev and Filipiak (2010), appear to have absolved labor market discrimination and opposed widespread assumptions that tend to label gender practices that exacerbate inequality as discrimination, they fail to explain the "model of masculinity that, operating on the terrain of "common sense" and conventional morality, defines "what it means to be a man" (Hanke, 1990, p.232) contributes to defining who gets what in the society as well as how individuals are treated in a manner that advances the subordination of women.

In Nigeria, Ekpe et al (2014, p.15) highlight how females have been under male domination due to "persisting cultural stereotype, abuse of religious and traditional practices, patriarchal societal structures in which economic, political and social power are dominated by men and the role women have historically played as the followers of male leaders". Also, within the hotel industry, Masadeh (2013) argues

that the industry, especially the upper echelons, remain a male-dominated domain. Two kinds of hegemonies have been identified: external hegemony (which is construed as institutionalisation of males' dominance over females) and internal hegemony (which refers to an ascendancy of a group of males over other males (Demetriou 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Another important element of hegemonic masculinity is the prevailing sex-role gender viewpoints. Gender role philosophy emphasises males' socialisation processes within a historically and culturally defined and expected structure of compliance. It includes belief and practices that mark ways males are expected live their lives (Gillon, 2008). Donaldson (1993) argues that hegemonic masculinity as a social condition operates in manners that sustains the control of women. Nigerian cultures embody some hyper hegemonic masculinity in which females are males' trophies and, in some places like northern Nigeria, education looks like males' prerogative; females that acquire education see themselves as privileged. Instead of challenging the situation, mothers train and encourage their daughters to endure male rules. They serve as role models for their daughters on how to be good women, which often key into the male dominant structure of the society. Also, the religion-influence tradition sees females as weak and males as strong. Such macho-masculinities have been widely documented in the literature (see Connell, 1990; Trujillo, 1991; Hanke, 1998a, b; Morrell, 2001; Light, 2007; Hardin et al., 2009).

It also discusses how interconnected issues of culture; religion and gender constitute both obstacles and pressures for females in the hotel industry. Recent feminist scholars have increasingly focused on class, gender, culture, and religion as the major concepts relating to intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity theory (Cole, 2009; Bassel andand Emejulu, 2010; Choo andand Myra, 2010; Collins,

2012; Coogan-Gehr, 2011; Alexander-Floyd 2012; Carbado, 2013; Chun, George and Young, 2013). Intersectionality theory enables investigators to “encapsulate historical and continuing relations of political, material and social inequality” (Cole, 2009, p.173) and provides opportunities for understanding of people’s experiences in the context of social identities and associated power relations. These identities greatly influence people’s beliefs and experience of gender (Shields, 2008; Ghavami and Peplau, 2012). In this study, as in other intersectionality-informed studies, it is assumed that observed inequities at the workplaces were not created and sustained by single or any distinct factors but are the outcome of various ethnic stereotypes, social power relations, locations and experiences that intersect (Ghavami and Peplau, 2012; Hankivsky, 2014).

Issues of culture, religion and gender put pressure on females that dare to work in the hotel industry and aid precarious attitudes for females that seek or accept promotion. Where situations make it extremely necessary for females to work in hotels, they are expected to cover themselves very well and work where they may not be seen, such as management positions. Also, those that work in the hotel are subjected to their husband’s rules in collaboration with the managers who help to ensure traditional gender order and ensure that such are not violated even if females have exceptional qualities and capabilities. Such intersectional challenges in male dominated societies and in the hotel industry, push females to reject promotion or face the consequences of daring to work in the domain of males. Both the consequences and pressures associated with female promotion affect their WLB in negative ways.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1: Introduction

Before summarising key conclusions of this study, it is pertinent to reiterate that, as summarised in the introductory chapter, existing gaps in qualitative evidence around the intersection of factors that impact gender diversity in the hotel management, females' WLB and career progression in the Nigeria's hotel industry have been observed. In order to understand how localised and contextualised culturally inspired gender practices impact on female's employment and career progression, this study approached the investigation from intersectionality and hegemonic masculinity. Coded data yielded expansive information, of which relevant key themes are summarised in Chapter Four. Based on careful consideration of intersectional factors, hegemonic masculinity infused cultural milieu, prevailing evidence of gender inequality in the hotel sector and the failure of the policy makers to advance policies that promote gender diversity in the country, the conclusions below present the key insights from the findings.

6.2 Summary of findings

6.2.1 Gender inequality in Nigerian hotels

The study showed that the Nigerian hotel sector is still grappling with the problem of gender inequality with females' career development suffering greatly under the burden of a male dominated culture. Females are disadvantaged because they are females in a society that places greater value on males and where females are made to serve as subordinate partners. Many of the employment opportunities available for

women are usually subordinate to those available for men in the same industry. One reason for this is the availability of strong cultural and religious values that tend to advocate for male dominance. Within the hotel sector, females are also made to take responsibilities that reflect their positions in the society and households, furthering the male dominant culture and servicing a male-dominated workforce and customers. In addition to this, the number of women receiving education (higher) for is lower than that of men. This means that fewer women will be able to qualify for the leadership and managerial positions in the hotel sector and by extension only few females might be able to compete with their male counterparts. To correct this situation, there is an urgent need to promote gender sensitivity and awareness in hotels as well as in wider society and ensure that policies regarding gender equality are promoted and legislated. Some of the issues for consideration and promotion among different categories of stakeholders are listed in the next sub-section.

Based on the key research questions and objectives that revolved around understanding of impact of cultural norms on WLB of female employees in Nigerian hotels, cultural challenges for the hotel industry and ways gender diversity is promoted in Nigerian hotels, major conclusions reached by this inquiry are:

- The evidence from the data confirms a deep-seated culture of gender discrimination in Nigeria, which differs slightly across different sociocultural locations. While the three mainstream cultures have many things in common in relation to gender practices at home and in the workplace, a stronger influence of gendered rules and specifically restrictions were observed in the north. Southern Nigeria has relatively more liberal gender relations but the cultural restriction is still strong when it comes to employment in the hotels.

Females had more freedom to do what they want with their lives in the metropolitan state of Lagos.

- Personal, ethnic and religious connections are key factors in employment and promotion in the hotel industry, much more so than qualifications and experiences. This was more pronounced in Kaduna than any other states. While educational qualifications were relevant, the modes of connections appear to create more opportunity. For females, such connections also served as a means of signalling their conformity to the 'good woman' standard of the society. Similarly, gender, religion and tribe play a role in job application and recruitment in the northern Nigerian hotels. For example, customers would be willing to see 'their own kind of women' working in the hotel.
- As Ghavemi and Peplau (2012) also observed, females, as well as males, simultaneously belong to gender, cultural and religious groups that interact to influence their dispositions, how they think about themselves and other people and opportunities available to them. As for females in the hotel industry, these factors influence how they are received, employed and promoted.
- The intersecting factors of gender, religion and culture put severe pressures on women, requiring them to take on additional burdens of care and household responsibilities while males tend to rest at the end of the work days. The research showed attendant implications for how females perform in work, as they arrive exhausted in work.
- As regards promotion of diversity, neither the government nor the hotel managers had any significant policy approach or proactive practical steps for promoting gender diversity in the hotels. While some of the managers

interviewed claimed that training and career development opportunities are provided, the study observed that the condition under which these may be provided combined with women's responsibilities at home made it difficult for them to benefit from such rarely provided opportunities. Besides, due to cultural, religious, marriage and household limitations, women are not sufficiently enthusiastic about progressing in their careers because it creates tensions in their marriage.

In the next subsection, these issues are linked in the discussion of gender diversity and WLB in the hotel industry.

6.2.2 Gender Diversity and Work Life Balance in the Hotel Industry

One of the major observations of this study is that both gender imbalance and challenges associated with females' WLB in the hotel are largely carry-overs from religious and cultural traditions, which are very knotty and unyielding. Both male and females in the society strongly reject the notion of gender equality because of their tenacious religious and traditional beliefs. Some females, as well as males, were angry at the mention of gender equality and any attempt to loosen the cultural chains. Male dominance is implicated in females' subordination and for creating and sustaining barriers to females' career ascendancy in hotel management. As both Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1993, p.92) and Biko in Arnold (1979) mentioned, male dominance operates in the mind of females to legitimate and reproduce their acquiescence and acceptance of their subordinate positions. Thus, the fundamentalist subordination and control of women result in their stalled careers in the hotel industry. On the demand side, manager's appeal to cultural position of

females which females also subscribe to, while on the supply side, marriage 'rules' and expectations deter females from seeking promotion to higher levels of hotel administration. Many females who attempt to 'rebel' against the standing cultural order find themselves in marriage crises. Few who do not experience marriage crises are constantly under severe pressure to satisfy both households' and works' demands resulting in their 'living a lie' and 'double lives': they lie to themselves, heads of households and managers to retain their positions as wives and hotel employees. Thus, the society makes them live lives that are beside themselves and suffering the consequences, which could range from frustration to emotional stress and physical abuse.

6.3 Contribution to Theory

Caution needs to be exercised on reaching any conclusion on the strict definition and explanation of gender patterns for Nigeria or any part of it. The grounds from this study shows that there is widespread gender discrimination across Nigeria, which tends to differ in nature and degree across various sociocultural locations The existing gender practices are highly context-specific, influenced by the prevailing religions and locations. While ethnic groups in a particular geopolitical zone, such as north-central Nigeria, might have closely related cultural practices, gender practices tend to differ based on their religious and traditional belief systems. This was also observed in a study by Unterhalter et al. (2017), which notes that that there is no homogenous northern Nigeria as far as gender practices are concerned.

The study strategically finds a common ground for both hegemonic masculinity framework and intersectionality perspectives. Connell and other leading actors, in the advancement of hegemonic masculinity framework, introduced it into the gender

debate as a result of their conviction that there existed a need to expand discussions of gender beyond the prevailing dualistic male-female sex roles and pave ways for accommodation of broader concerns around social construction such as race, culture, class and gender (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985; Kimmel, 1987; Wetherell and Edley, 1999; Demetrious, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). This study therefore directly created space for the discussion of culture and gender using the hegemonic masculinity framework and intersectionality frameworks. The masculinity framework evolved as an attempt to develop an inclusive gender study approach and particularly provides a frame for analyzing social dynamics and patriarchal power (Demetrious, 2001; Ezegwu, 2012). The combination of the two frameworks in this study constitutes an attempt to create a complementary framework in the study of gender in a postcolonial society. This thereby contributes to closing a gap and promoting gender equality without comprehensive analysis of gender situation in the postcolonial states. This can potentially lead to the development of a new framework that combines both the elements of the hegemonic masculinity and those of intersectionality frameworks. Currently, none of them provides sufficient attributes to be regarded as an inclusive analytical framework for the understanding of gender situations in the developing societies.

Also, Connell seems to have suggested some elements of intersectionality in his proposition for a more accommodating framework for understanding of gender issues and forms of “masculinities in a range of class and ethnic contexts” (Connell, 2004, p.735). However, his theory of masculinity appears to have never gone beyond a framework for understanding of males, male dominance and male power. Moreover, Connell’s identification of the need to engage class and ethnic issues in the study of masculinities suggests that his theory tilts towards, to some extent,

intersectional framework for understanding of males in different cultural and ethnic settings. This thesis is convinced that an appropriate marriage of the two frameworks can be advanced.

Factors that influence gender inequality in the hotel industry may not be explained by examining few or independent elements of the society such as gender, culture and socio-economic conditions. While this study focused on the intersectionality of culture and gender, alongside religion and socio-economic situations, female hotel workers, like other members of the society have multi-dimensional and complex experiences in their daily lives. Their lived realities and work-life experiences are shaped by diverse factors and social dynamics that are working together.

In conclusion, this qualitative study highlighted the various themes related to culture and gender inequality in the Nigerian hotel industry. The main factors identified related to culturally constructed responsibilities, gender bias and inequality, religious beliefs and cultural challenges. These themes are recognised in other studies, but having explored the issues specifically facing women in the hotel industry a number of sub-themes emerged that highlighted the problems in wider Nigerian society, which in some ways are concentrated within the hospitality industry. It was apparent from the interviews with Human Resources Managers that they were well educated and understood the gender inequality issues, alongside an awareness of widespread campaigns and initiatives to address them. However, with such assertion as "I am a Muslim from birth" (such as KF7 & KF4), "I am sorry I am a business guy" (LM2), "I am as a wife but I don't have an option than to do it" (FK7) they tend to reveal their tenacious hold on the sociocultural and religious traditions that produced these gender discriminatory values and appear not as such prepared to challenge them.

They rather claimed that the issues as being out of scope of their own personal remit or responsibilities to take action.

6.4 Contribution to Practice

Considering various observations made in this study and the conclusions reached above, the recommendations made below are believed to be relevant for practical actions in order to advance gender equality in the hotel industry and the Nigerian world of work.

6.4.1 Liberating the Female Body

This study showed that in the specific research context, the female body is currently under religious and cultural regulation (through dress codes, timing of movement outside the homes and insistence on male family member accompanying females whenever they go outside the homes). There are different ways of combating this, including legislative routes. In this regard, there is a need for organised local, national and international actions to mount pressure on the government to approve the GEO bill that provides both equal opportunities for males and females and also domesticates provisions of various international conventions such as CEDAW, Beijing Agreements, and International Human Rights principles. This will help to address practices uncovered in this thesis such as the use of the female body as marketing objects in the workplace, and also create free and equal space for women's advancement.

6.4.2 Breaking Cultural Barriers and Rolling Back Male Dominance

Across Nigerian cultures, gender role stereotyping is deeply ingrained. This influences gender views, practices and expectations as well as gender roles in the hotel industry. A holistic radical change is required in terms of policy, cultural, programmatic, attitudinal and social actions. Such change also requires some catalysts as have been identified elsewhere (Machold et al., 2013) including research and information to raise awareness; education to change norms; and role models that break from the traditional stereotypes.

More and appropriate research and information are required to trigger community actions. The World Bank (2014, p.53) notes, "Significant data and knowledge gaps pose major challenges to evidence-based policy-making and need to be addressed". Increased pressure needs to be mounted on the government and traditional gatekeepers to open educational access to females across Nigeria, but also educate and inform men that gendered roles are social constructions rather than 'facts'. Also considering that such a feat might not be achieved by stand-alone actions and activities, increasingly interconnected actions and networking among activists, opinion makers and popular gender role models are also required. Meaningful changes at the grassroots will potentially trigger transformational changes in workplaces, including the hotel industry.

There exists a need for gender equality role models in the hotel industry. Most respondents mentioned how their parents influenced them. In order to break the chain of gender roles and masculine dominance, role models and civil society activists need to rise to encourage females' actions and encourage females to speak up. The problem of a lack of mentoring can be solved through cross-gender mentoring. This is supported by Brown (1986) who established that cross-gender

mentoring relationships were as advantageous and efficacious as female-to-female coaching. Nonetheless, female-to-female mentoring is more successful because women who have gone via the same experience can be in a better position to identify with their challenges and issues related to gender inequality and discrimination in the workplace.

6.4.3 Promoting Gender Diversity in Management

The opportunities for the advancement of women can be extended not only through the resilience of women, but also through the employment of national policies to meet the aspirations of the changing international order. The UN Sustainability Goals include gender diversity and should be translated into the opening up of windows of opportunity for women. It may take considerable time before traditional leaders and the population at large understand the positive impact that change will bring. However, in order to achieve this, the educational system must change. Instead of encouraging girls to take only liberal arts courses, girls must also take courses in science, technology and the humanities, just like boys. Equally, young women should be encouraged to enter fields traditionally dominated by men like computing, engineering, building and construction. Moreover, instead of assuming that only women will be self-employed, entrepreneurial skills should be taught to both males and females.

Considering that the private sector is perhaps the largest source of hotel employment jobs, it is necessary that meaningful changes begin there. Within the hotels, managers need to encourage promoting in-house policies and practices that stimulate professionalism and merit rather than culturally idealised gender roles that

promote discrimination. Innovative approaches need to be advanced to encourage women's participation in career development opportunities, training and ultimately aspiring to positions at the higher level of hotel management. Such innovative approaches might include proactive in-house policies, reformed practices and conscious efforts to engage and mentally and physically liberate females.

The World Bank (2014) highlighted the important roles governments can play in equalising economic opportunities and create room for females' advancement. The report notes that "sound jobs strategies to reduce gender inequality in the world of work start with careful country-level diagnostics to understand local priorities and key constraints to women's work". (World Bank, 2014, p.53). Appropriate public and private sector diagnosis is recommended which must be followed up with relevant interventions based on the outcomes of such analysis. Also, requisite monitoring and evaluation of time-bound interventions need to be taken seriously to measure progress and adjust the theory of change where and when necessary.

6.5 Limitations

While this study was designed to be following standards of academic rigour, some challenges were experienced which impacted on the overall direction and outcomes of the study. Firstly, Nigeria is a very diverse country with over 500 linguistic groups. Findings from this study may not be generalised or considered to have provided comprehensive information on the situation in Nigeria. Data were collected in only three out of the hundreds of ethnic groups. Also, while the focus on three hotels created an opportunity for in-depth examination of the samples, there is a possibility that the hotels may not aptly represent the prevailing character of aggregate hotels in study locations. The context specificity of this research is, therefore, both strength

and a limitation and further work need to be done in different organisational and cultural settings.

Secondly, confidentiality of the hotels and their locations (due to the existing agreement with the hotel management that such information will not be disclosed) might pose some challenges to researchers who might desire to conduct a confirmatory study in the same hotels used in order to confirm the findings of this study. The implication of this is that researchers seeking to replicate the study may lack comprehensive information to identify hotels for their studies. Although much information about features of the hotels has been provided, provision of exact details of the location and names of the hotels might suggest other characteristics that may have not been noticed by the researcher and currently not captured in this report.

6.6 Recommendation for further study

A number of themes and issues emerged from the study requiring further investigation and evaluation. Firstly, the need for in-depth investigations into diverse factors that work together to influence a culture of silence around females' subjugation within the industry is recommended. Such studies also need to look at why females are very much afraid to speak about their situation besides the fear of losing their job. In societies where females are not largely free to work, why should they be afraid of losing their jobs while many of them are happy to stay at home as emphasised by some respondents.

Secondly, there is a need for studies that highlight, from practical experiences of hotels in Nigeria, benefits of females in higher management roles in order to encourage managers to look beyond culturally idealised roles and understand how more females in management would contribute to business growth in Nigeria.

Besides what has been observed elsewhere, bespoke Nigerian experiences and evidence are very important.

Lack of consistency and uniformity in disaggregated statistical information on the workforce strengths across levels, which was observed in chapter one, highlights the need for independent and reliable evidence for meaningful advocacy, policy making and interventions. Currently, the available data on gender and employment in the hotel industry are not reliable and need to be treated with caution as observed in the review of literature.

In conclusion, while efforts have been made to extensively explore key factors around gender diversity and WLB of females in the hotel industry, this study does not claim to be comprehensive. More studies in this field are recommended to both continue where this study stopped and to possibly see from different perspectives what may have either been omitted or possibly not explained enough.

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